THE

HISTORY

OF THE

MANAGEMENTS

OF

Cardinal

ULIO MAZARINE

Chief Miniſter of STATE of the Crown of *FRANCE.*

ritten in *Italian* by Count *Gale-zzo Gualdi Priorato.* And Tranſlated according to the Original.

In the which

: Related the Principal Succeſſes Happen-d from the Beginning of his Manage-ment of Affairs till his Death.

Tom. I. Part III.

LONDON,

ted by *H.L.* and are to be ſold by *Geo. lvert* at the Ball in *Duck-lane*, *Sam. Spirit* at the *Bell* in *Little Britain*, and *Chri-ſtopher Wilkinſon* at the *Black-Boy*, againſt St. *Dunſtans* Church in *Fleetſtreet.* 1673.

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The HISTORY of the Management of CARDINAL MAZARINE.

Part III. BOOK I.

THE Events that happened in these years throughout *Europe*, under the Management of Cardinal *Mazarin*, of which I continue the History, are so various and unusual, that it will, Peradventure, appear unto Posterity, almost uncredible (not to say, quite impossible) that ever they should come to pass; And perchance it may be questioned, whether the Fantasie of those who invent Romances, hath not given more matter to these relations

then the verity of Hiſtory.

That the Kingdome of *France*, ſo powerfull and flouriſhing; at the very height of its triumphs, ſhould be brought to the very brink of its own ruines, and reſtored again in ſo ſhort a time, to a State more eminent then before, riſing up more proſperouſly to gather the Palmes and Lawrells of greater conqueſts, is undoubtedly an evident Demonſtration of the marvellous Induſtry, and moſt exquiſite Councell of him, who at that time ſuſtained the Management of that moſt potent Realm.

Reſuming then the continuance of my Hiſtory where I left, in the end of the year 1653. Which was happily concluded with the total expulſion of the Prince of *Conde*, and other turbulent, and diſcontented perſons, out of *France*; With the gaining of Com-

Commercy, and many Towns about the confines of *Lorain* and upon the Frontiers of *Flanders*. With the taking of *Bourg*, *Bordeaux*, *Libourne*, *Perigueaux*, and many other ſtrong holds regained in *Guienne*; With the retreat of the *Spaniſh* Navy out of the *Garonne*. With the happy ſucceſſes in *Conflans*, and *Roſſiglion*. With the timely relief ſent into *Roſes*; and finally with the conqueſt of *Bellegard*, *Rethel*, *Mouſon*, and St. *Menehaud*: and with no other loſs then only of *Rocroy*, and no other advantage to the *Spaniard*, then of the relieving of *Girona*, and of ſome favorable ſucceſſes in *Catalonia*.

Cardinal *Mazarine* applying himſelf more and more to provide for the greateſt difficulties, and moſt intricate Affairs, was wholly intent upon *Political*

Negotiations, and provisions for the Warr.

The Practises held by the *Spanish* Ministers with the Protector *Cromwel*, to strike up a League offensive and defensive between the Catholick King and *England*, did sorely disquiet his mind; This Intrigue was carried on with great earnestness, and most advantageous offers by *Don Alphonso de Cardenas*, the *Spanish* Embassador in *London*, a person of a great spirit, and acute wit; assisted by some others, more jealous of the greatness of the most Christian King, then well-wishers of the *Spaniards*.

The *French* reported abroad, that the *Spaniards* had proposed to the *English* the surprizing of *Calice*, with promise to put that most important place into their hands, and to assist them to get footing in *France*, thereby to renew

renew their ancient pretentions, and by the aid of the *Huguenots*, keep that Kingdom in perpetual troubles.

To this perplexity was added another caused by the conspiracies of the Perturbers of the publike quiet, who, out of their own ambition and emulation of his power, were still plotting new mischief. He feared moreover, lest the *Spaniards*, gaining the Duke of *Mantua*, should place a garrison in *Casale*, and by that fatal fortress, putting a bridle upon *Piemont*, should shut the *French* out of *Italy*.

He found also the Royal treasure exhausted, and therefore unable to subminister necessary provisions for the War in *Catalonia*, in *Flanders*, and in *Italy*, and to keep up the forces of their confederates.

The Farmers of the *Gabels*,

were disheartned by reason of the great difficulty in collecting the Assignments made them by the Court, The Armies much diminished, The Garrisons unfurnished. Against these emergent difficulties, no ordinary preventions, nor vulgar Councells were sufficient, 'twas therefore necessary to make use of skill, and to borrow from Art, to supply the strength that was wanting.

He employed therefore all his faculties to break off the Negotiations of his adversaries with *Cromwell*, and with most exquisite industry applied himself to overthrow all their determinations, notwithstanding they then were very near a conclusion. He was in good hopes of a prosperous event, by propounding to the Protector the same offers, and making use of the same Arts the *Spaniards* did; Thus wounding them

them with the ſelf ſame weapon they had deſigned for him.

The chief buſineſs was in prevailing with the Protector, to engage the forces of *England* againſt *Spain*, as *Spain* did labour to animate them againſt *France*.

The minds of the *Engliſh*, (by reaſon of their natural antipathy, their ancient jealouſies, and ſome late accidents occurred between thoſe Nations) little inclining to *France*, did not promiſe ſo eaſie, nor ſo good an event; beſides, he was not a little jealous of the reſolutions of *Cromwell*, a man full of high pretentions, much coveting Glory, and fond of great undertakings. Wherefore it was expedient to act with cautious regard, ſuiting the Propoſitions according to the conjunctures and his haughty genius.

Having therefore given meet Inſtructions for ſo important

an affaire to the President *Bordeaux*, the *French* Agent at *London*; He caused a rumor to be spred throughout all the Provinces, of an invasion threatned from *England*, with intention to unite by this plot, the people of *France*, naturally agreeing when they are to oppose forreiners, and induce them readily to concur with their contributions towards the necessary charges of the War, seconding with most subtile Policy the propensions of the subjects, thereby to facilitate his designes.

Moreover, understanding full well the nature of the *French*, still inclining to novelties, and easie to be obliged by civilities, (a proper bate for noble spirits) he so wrought with the King, that with a gratious Act of Oblivion he forgave all those who submitted themselves to his Majesties

ſties clemency. This was conceived one of the beſt remedies to aſſuage the rancour, and purge out the ill humours, which infected the minds of thoſe who deſpairing of favour, ſtudied nothing but deſperate reſolutions, thereby to withdraw themſelves from puniſhment, it being common with thoſe that deſpair of pardon, to endeavor to redouble their crimes.

From theſe ſeeds he gathered in very ſhort time moſt plentiful fruit, for almoſt all thoſe of *Conde's* faction, either retired home to their own houſes, or embraced his Majeſties ſervice.

Then turning himſelf to the affairs of *Catalonia*, where the precedent year the *Mareſchal de Hoquincourt*, had commanded the forces with no very good ſucceſſe; He judged it expedient to ſend thither the Prince of *Conty*,

not only to preſerve the people and Militia of that Countrey in their loyalty, by the preſence of a Prince of the Bloud, but alſo by reaſon of the preſent conjunctures, his Brother the Prince of *Conde*, then bearing Armes for *Spain*, he held it not convenient that *Conty* ſhould be ſo near, and as it were, a ſpectator of his Brothers Armes, who being therefore preſſed to depart, he left *Paris* the 26. of *May*, 1654. And took his journey towards *Lions*, being followed by the Duke of *Candale*, in whoſe valour the Court did much confide; and therefore had given him Commiſſion to aſſiſt the Prince in the quality of Lieutenant General; *Don Joſeph Margarita*, with many others Natives of *Catalonia*, were ſent thither likewiſe to ſerve in the *French* Army, which was increaſed by an addition of ſeveral Troops, and ſuf-

ſufficiently furniſhed with all proviſions to carry on the War in thoſe parts.

Neither did the Cardinal in this time forget the affairs of *Italy*, bending his thoughts thereunto with all ſerioufneſs, reflecting on the condition of the *French* in thoſe parts, for the loſs of *Trino*, *Caſſale*, *Piombino* and *Portolongone*, which hapned in the time of the rebellion, and in his abſence from Court.

By reaſon of theſe diſaſters, he ſaw the *Spaniards* hopes increaſed, and the fame of the *French* leſſened to that degree, that the *Spaniſh* Miniſters took the boldneſs to ſolicit her Royal Highneſs the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, to lay hold on this conjuncture of time, and following the example of the Duke of *Mantoa*, to free her ſelf from the vexations of War, by making peace with the Governor of *Milan*,

Milan who offered her advantageous Articles.

The *Neapolitans* discontented, and groaning under the severe government of the Count *d' Ognate*, besought the King of *France* to hear their Petitions, demonstraing unto him, that a very little aid would suffice to make those people break out into an open Rebellion.

They insinuated to the Court, that if they had some succor from *France*, the whole Countrey would immediately joyn with them, and a great part of the Nobility, having bin slighted and ill treated by the Vice-*Roy*, would not be so forward to serve the King of *Spain*, as they had bin in the late Insurrections.

They aggravated moreover, that the *Spaniards* did not easily forget injuries; And therefore the Nobility, putting themselves

on

on the ſtrongeſt ſide, would ſeek to maintain that degree of Authority and immunity, which would moſt ſecure unto them their liberties, lives and fortunes.

Don Alphonſo Caraffa, Duke of *caſtle Nuovo*, and *Colla-Petra*, *Don Vincenzo de Monti* Marqueſs of *Acaia*; The Baron *Antonio Quintio*, and other exiled perſons, preſſed inceſſantly, that the King would come to a reſolution, to ſend a Navy, and a Land Army into the Kingdom of *Naples*, engaging themſelvs by the ſecret intelligence they held there, to ſet on foot a new Rebellion, to drive out the *Spaniards*, who, as they ſaid, were commonly hated in their hearts, though complemented with their tongues, by the moſt conſiderable part of the *Neapolitans*.

This Affair was much promoted by the negotiations of the Abbot

Abbot *Don Paulo Volpiani*, Native of the City of *Fermo*, a man of great parts; who was ſent ſeveral times into *France*, on this ſcore, by the Aſſemblies of the conſpirators in *Abruzzo* and *Calabria*, whoſe faction was managed in *Rome* by *John Rinaldo Monaldeſchi*, by the Signior *Moncavello*, a Roman Baron. a youth of a high ſpirit, and extreamly ſollicitous to raiſe his depreſſed fortunes, and to get Fame and Honour by his ſword, thorough the greateſt hazards.

The cauſe of theſe *Neapolitans*, was protected in the Court of *France*, by the Duke of *Guiſe*, a Generous Prince, who for his extraordinary affability and courteous behaviour, was univerſally beloved and much reſpected by all ſtrangers, and in good eſteem at Court, and being very intimate with the chief Miniſter of State, to whoſe

whose Interests he had so constantly adhered, that he could never be induced to forsake him; though the Prince of *Conde*, for the kindness he had for him, (having not long before delivered him out of the hands of the *Spaniards*, who kept him prisoner,) did press him much thereunto.

The Proposal, to dismember a Kingdom so florishing and powerfull from the Monarchy of *Spain*, was liked of at Court, considering that if the *Spaniards* should come to lose it, they would thereby likewise be deprived of the necessary forces to defend their other States in *Italy*. But although those things are wont to please, which are desired, the difficulties were found to be far greater then they were represented, for the *Neapolitans* shewed themselves more forward in their words, then constant and resolute in their deeds.

'Twas

'Twas considered too, that the antipathy of that Nation with the *French*, was far greater then the hatred they had against the *Spaniards*; And to admit of the *French* in their stead, was assented to only by a few, though in outward shew all seemed to embrace it: Notwithstanding by reason of the earnest sollicitations of the Duke of *Guise*, who promised to embrace this enterprise at his own charge, 'twas resolved on at length to make a trial with this reflection, that if they could gain but one Sea-Port in *Calabria*, or other part of the Kingdom, it would prove such a diversion to the *Spanish* Armes in *Catalonia* and *Lombardie*, that the *French* would reap great profit thereby. Whereupon order was given for the equipping the Navy in *Provence*; and the Bishop of *Orange*, a very understanding person, and

of

of a lofty ſpirit, was ſent thither to take care for the requiſite proviſions.

The Miniſters of the moſt Chriſtian King conſidered, that to give vigor to the enterpriſe in the Kingdom of *Naples*, it was expedient to renew the War in the ſtate of *Milan*, which being nearer the conqueſts, would prove more eaſie, and alſo more uſefull for the intereſt of *France*, there being leſs difficulty in keeping them. But having learnt by experience, rhat the conduct only of a *French* General would yield them ſmall hopes, without the aſſiſtance of ſome Prince of *Italy*, they began to conſult of whom they ſhould make choice to command their forces in *Lombardy*.

They ſaw in the Royal houſe of *Savoy*, Prince *Thomas*, as renowned for his birth, valor, and experience,

ence, as zealous for the advancement of the Crown of *France*; But his designes having bin little favoured by fortune, or (as some did suspect) too much biassed by the interest of his own family, it seeming not advantageous to his concerns, to cast the *Spaniards* wholly out of *Italy*, to give entrance to the *French*, who afterwards might more easily bring the House of *Savoy* under their dependance, if it should come to be encompassed by the *French* power.

In this respect the Court of *France* stood doubtfull, whether they should commit unto him the Management of this Affaire, which required a total application both of will and conduct. Notwithstanding, confiding as well in the valor as in the ingenious nature of this Prince, and beleeving him desirous in making consider-

able

able emolument to himself at the coſts of that Crown, (as ſome ſuggeſted to his hopes he might, either by the overture of ſome conſiderable match in *France*, or of ſome other great advancement for his Son) the King reſolved to intruſt him with the command of the *French* forces in *Piemont*, and to keep the *Savoiards* from ſtarting from him. The chief aime was not only to make uſe of this Prince, to wage War againſt the ſtate of *Milan*, on the confines of *Piemont*, as they were wont to do. But the deſign of the Cabinet Counſel was, that he ſhould enter farther into *Lombardy*; they conſidered that that Dukedome well furniſhed with ſtrong Fortreſſes in the upper parts, could with a very ſlight Army defend it ſelf, and ſo much the eaſier, becauſe lying in the midſt of other neutral Princes, who

who facilitated the escape of the *French* soldiers, that fled from their Colours, to save themselves from the extream sufferings they underwent in the field. The truth is, that necessaries falling short, for the maintenance of the Army, and the provisions from Court being sometimes retarded, and sometimes very sparingly sent by reason of the neglect, or private Interest of the Officers, who had that incumbent on them; The Armies were so much weakned and diminished by that time the *Campagnia's* were ended, that it was very easie for the *Spaniards* to regain what they lost before.

The expedient therefore was taken, to confederate with some Prince fit for their purpose, to undertake the War, on the utmost confines of *Cremona*, and *Giaralada*, that were most exposed and less provided to withstand

the

the invaſions made on that ſide.

Cardinal *Mazarin* therefore did his utmoſt endeavour to gaine *Franceſco d' Eſte*, Duke of *Modena*, a valiant Prince, and of great underſtanding, then in the flower of his Age, of a noble preſence and active ſpirit, fit for great undertakings, and in whom the highneſs of his birth equalling his ſingular endowments, to form in him the Idea of a noble Prince, and generous Captain, captivated unto him the affections of whole Nations, whence it came to paſs, he was eſteemed and Honour'd by every one with univerſall applauſe.

In no leſs value was held the Cardinal *Renaldo*, his Brother, who joyning to the innocency and exemplarity of his deportment, the greatneſs of his mind, enriched with ſingular prudence

and

and judgment, upheld more gloriously then ever the reputation of the most Christian Crown, whereof he was Protector in *Rome*; and had not only gain'd the favour of the Court; but with no lesse fame then undaunted actings had eternized his name to the glory of *France*.

The House of *Este* growing cold in their affections for *Spain*, by reason of some disgusts with the *Austrian* Ministers; they seemed more inclinable to a closing with *France*, by whom they declared they had bin better used, and in their need succoured with more friendly assistance.

A Marriage was already concluded between this Duke and the Lady *Lucretia Barberina*, Niece to the two Cardinals *Francisco*, and *Antonio*, and sister to the other Cardinal *Carlo*; And to the Prince of *Palestrina*, and the wed-

Wedding Solemnized with great Pomp in the month of *April*, to the no great ſatisfaction of the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, who (as the voice went) did daily raiſe new jealouſies and fears, the unhappy off-ſprings of thoſe *Saturnine*-Complexions, which frame ſuſpitions, and diffidences in every thing, though never ſo indifferent, yet they cheriſh'd themſelves with their late ſucceſſes, which afterwards by fatality, did not anſwer their expectations.

Mazarine in the mean time conſidered with himſelf the advantages which *France* might hope for from the Houſe of *Eſte*, if they could gain the Duke to their party; and although the Marriage made with the Houſe of *Barberine*, did not altogether pleaſe him, judging it would have bin more to his purpoſe to have matched the Duke to one of his

own

own Nieces, yet he let slip no occasions; nor omitted no Art or endeavour to gain him.

Whilst with these designes he was pondering on the affaires of *Italy*, and *England*, he neglected not to make good provisions for the future *Campania*. With no less vigilancie did the Ministers of the Catholike King use all dexterity to bear off his blowes; And although the Count *d' Ognate* Vice-Roy of *Naples*, a man of indefatigable pains, and of an eager temper was called from that Kingdom, yet the interest of the *Spaniards* in those parts, was in nothing the worser condition, by the enterance of the Count *d' Castriglo*, into that government, a Cavalier of a more mild and pleasing disposition, and no less attent and vigilant for the improvement of the Catholike Crown.

Who omitted not to put all things in a posture of defence for the Conservation of those States, assisting also the other members of that Monarchy, much infeebled and molested; He gave orders for the fortifying those two important Ports of *Gaeta*, and *Portolongone*, he sent 800 foot of the levies of the Prince of St. *Severo* into *Catalonia*, and gave out several Commissions for the raising of more, and above all he labored to gather mony.

He sollicited for men out of *Spain*, and judging it expedient to have in every Province of this Kingdom, a considerable body in Armes ready to send forth as need should require, He Commissioned several persons of quality to take care of that affair: He chose good and expert Officers to exercise and bring into discipline the Soldiers

of the *Battalion*; who by reason of the late troubles were in very great disorder and unfit for service. He gave the Command of *Abruzzo* where was the greatest suspicion, to *Don Biasio de Bolrata.* He gained with Promises of great rewards, *Martello*, the chief of the *Banditi's*; and to pacifie the *Neapolitan* Nobility, exasperated by the severities of the Count *d Ognate*, he set at liberty the Duke of *Andria*, and his Brother *Don Hector Caraffa*, imprisoned two months before, for having used violence to some Officers of Justice. He also enlarged the Prince of *Achaia* from his strict imprisonment; and for the better security he changed the Governors of the most important places, substituting two persons, upon whose fidelity he might safely rely.

He sent also to raise some troop

troops of *Albanian* or *Croatian* horſ, diſpatching thither commiſſions and moneys to that effect; and by theſe and the like Politick and military Arts, he endeavored to render himſelf grateful to the ſubjects, and his Government ſerviceable to the King.

The Cauſes for which *Don Innigo di Guevara Conte d' Ognate* was removed from the Government of *Naples*, in a time when the Affairs of that Kingdom ſeemed rather to require the aſſiſtance of ſuch a reſolute Miniſter, in outward appearance, was, becauſe, after the term of five years his time in that Government was to expire; but they that penetrate more deeply into the intrinſick cauſe, will finde it proceeded from more abſtruſe Reaſons.

The abſolute Authority with which he managed that Govern-

ment. The little correſpondence which was between him and *Don John* of *Auſtria*. The promoting Cardinal *Barberin*'s intereſt with ſo great animoſitie; the great Duke, who interpoſed in this Affair, not well contented with him; the complaints of the Nobility of their ill treatment, and other Exclamations againſt the rigidneſs and ſeverities practiſed by him, were the Promoters of this reſolution. But the moſt eſſential motive for his removal came from the Negotiations of *Monſignor Franceſco Gaetano* Archbiſhop of *Rhodes*, at that time Apoſtolical Nuncio in *Spain*, who by the earneſt inſtigation of the Pope was emboldened to act with great reſolution and courage; and notwithſtanding, that *Monſignor Giulio Roſpiglioſi*, (who afterward was Cardinal and aſcending to the Seat of *Peter*, vacant

vacant by the death of *Alexander* the ſeventh, was called *Clement* the ninth, a Perſon of rare Gifts, and *Gaetans* Predeceſſor in that Legation,) with many others, did deſpair of obtaining it; yet he found out a Way to bring his Holineſs's his intention to paſs. The complaints of the Pope againſt *Ognate*, and for which by continual Letters and Expreſſes, he commanded the Nuncio to procure his Removal; were grounded upon the violences which he did daily more and more practiſe againſt the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction; and in particular againſt the Perſon of Cardinal *Aſcanio Filomarino* Arch-biſhop of *Naples*, who by the Count *d' Ognate*, and other back friends, was repreſented to the Catholick Court for a Rebel, and an Inſtigator of the people in the late ſeditions.

The imputations againſt *Ognate* were diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral Heads; That in lieu of puniſhing, he had rewarded with a Donative of 100 Zecchins, and with the Government of the City of *Sarno*, *James Roſſo* for having murthered a Prieſt at the very Gates of the *Nuncio*'s Palace in *Naples*. That he had deteined from *Monſignor Sperelli*, ſent thither *Nuncio*, the wonted Royal *Exequatur* of his Patent, for the ſpace of 14 days, which was accuſtomed to be immediately diſpatched, and for no other cauſe, but that he held him to be an active & reſolute perſon, who having printed a Tract concerning Eccleſiaſtical Immunities, he feared he might make uſe of thoſe Principles againſt his Politicks.

That he had cauſed *Horatio Saladino* of the City of *Aſcoli* to be

be arreſted and impriſoned, by Captain *Girolamo Rocchetta*, Leader of the Squadron againſt the *Banditi*, who entring into the Eccleſiaſtical Dominions, carried him away Priſoner into the Kingdom of *Naples*. That a Horſe being ſtollen in the Apoſtolical State, by the Souldiers of *Cantalice* near *Rieti*, the Theft had never been puniſhed, though the Governor of *Aſcoli* had often demanded Juſtice. And finally, that he had committed many other Exceſſes againſt the Eccleſiaſticks, where he found the leaſt ſhadow or ſuſpicion that they had bin medling in the late revolutions, although publick Pardons had been granted to all without exception.

The Nuncio with great circumſpection made known theſe things, ſometimes to the King himſelf, and ſometimes to the

Junto, preſſing continually the recalling of *Ognate*.

The difficulties which he encountred were very conſiderable, becauſe the friends of *Ognate* did oppoſe him with very ſtrong Reaſons; it not ſeeming expedient for the Kings ſervice, to remove a Miniſter, who, if by violent remedies he diſordered the ſtomack, yet with the ſame Medicines he cleared it from thoſe malignant humours which did oppreſs it.

The Nuncio reaſoned with his Majeſtie, and with the chief Miniſters, to make them underſtand the truth of what was ſuggeſted by *Ognate*; to the end, they would apply the moſt apt remedies to ſo dangerous an evil, and remove out of that Kingdom a man, who was grown up to that height of fury and choller, as to uſe ſcandalous violences even to the

the Cardinal Arch-bishop himself. Insomuch that the Pope having advised him to make some pretence to leave *Naples*; his Eminence was resolved to do so; his Lodgings were prepared in *Rome*, & the greatest part of his Moveables packed up; the Vice-Roy suspecting, that the rumor of the Cardinals going to *Rome*, to visit the Tombs of St. *Peter* and *Paul*, did somewhat eclipse the glory of his great boastings, which he made, even to the infamie of the dignity of Cardinals, much vilified by him, caused a noise to be spread abroad, that the Cardinal departed, not to visit the holy places, but because it was his pleasure and that this his resolution was agreed unto and approved of by the Court of *Spain*, adding moreover, that if he did not depart within fifteen days, he would im-

prison

priſon him, bragging moreover, that this being done, he would turn out of the Kingdom fourteen Biſhops more, whereof he named ſome publickly.

He declared beſides, to the Nuncio in *Naples*, That all this was done by the Kings Order; and that his Majeſty had written, not only to Cardinal *Trivultio*, but alſo to the Pope to recal *Filomarino* to *Rome*, as one not truſtie to the Crown; And that the King had order'd him, (in caſe he was not recalled within fifteen days after the delivery of the ſaid Letter to the Pope,) to warn him to depart; and if he refuſed to obey, then to ſecure him in the Caſtle.

He aggravated further to the Nuncio, that if the Cardinal ſhould continue any longer time in *Naples*, he might cauſe ſome new combuſtions, and do many other

other things too prejudicial to the interest of his Majestie.

This Exaggeration was supposed to be wholly contrary to the pious intentions of the Catholick King, it being known, that although the Impressions suggested to him by *Ognate*, and fomented in the Court by his friends, had perswaded him into an opinion, that it would be for his Interest that the Cardinal should depart from his residence for some time; nevertheless, his intention was that it should be effected under some honourable pretence, and with the greatest reputation and credit of an Arch-Bishop, dignified with a Cardinals Robe. The above-mentioned Declaration caused great disquiet in the Court of *Rome*, and raised such an indignation in the Pope, that he presently sent express Order to *Filomarino*, not to remove

remove from his Reſidence, and forthwith diſpatched a Meſſenger to the Nuncio in *Madrid*, to repreſent the whole matter to the King and Councel, inſiſting to have *Ognate* abſolutely removed.

The Nuncio moſt vigorouſly renewed his Petition to the King, and ſollicited the Chief Counſellors of State; he writ alſo a Letter to the Kings Confeſſor with fierce expreſſions; and amongſt others he uſed this, that if he had perceived in the proceedings of the Count *d' Ognate* any real ſervice performed for his Majeſtie; he ſhould have believed, that if the Count was no good Catholike; yet at leaſt that he was a good Miniſter; but ſeeing no appearance in his acting, of any ſuch thing, but on the contrary very conſiderable damage, he took the boldneſs to

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affirm, he was neither a good Minister nor a good Catholick.

The Nuntio continued to demonstrate how little credit ought to be given to the Relations of the Vice Roy, making them appear to have no other reality then that which they received from his Passion, palpably apparent by his own contradictions; for he insinuated, that if *Filomarino* remained in *Naples*, he might be Author of some rebellion, and at the same time suggested, that the said Cardinal was become odious to all the Nobility, the common people, and even to the Clergy themselves; in so much that none of them frequented any more his Palace, except some few of his Relations; he shewed moreover a certain Pamphlet scattered about, against the Cardinal, intimating, how he had been likewise in danger of his life.

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To haſten therefore the Removal of *Ognate*, on which depended the Cardinals quit much deſired by the Pope; the Nuncio urged again his Requeſt to the King and Court, repreſenting to them that horrible fact of the Prieſt murthered, whereof the fame was not yet come to *Madrid*, the Vice-Roy having by all means hindred it as long as he could

This buſineſs was very much reſented, and Anſwer made to the Nuncio, that if it proved true, ſatisfaction ſhould be given, anſwerable to the delict.

It no ways behoving a pious Prince to connive at impiety in his Miniſters.

This and other Reaſons efficaciouſly propoſed, made great impreſſion in the devout and well compoſed mind of the King, and his Miniſters, who hearing it

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muttered about; that the Pardons granted were not ſincerely obſerved, and that there was no end of their ſeverity, *Ognate* continuing ſo obſtinate in his own opinion, that he could by no means be brought to act with mildneſs.

For this reaſon therefore, and to remove all pretext from the Pope, to alienate himſelf from the good correſpondence with *Spain*, and to give ſome ſatisfaction to thoſe that were diſcontented with *Ognate*'s dealings.

A Decree was publiſhed in the Month of *June* 1653. for the ſubſtituting in his place the Count of *Caſtriglio*.

Ognate returned into *Spain*, with the fame, that he brought with him more then a million in ready money. At firſt he was not looked upon with a favour-

able

able eye in Court; but afterwards, in progress of time, by carrying himself submissively in all Affairs; and by disguising his ambition with feined humility, (a Maxime of those who desire to advance themselves the more) he got credit again, and if he had not died, it was thought he should have been sent Governour to *Milan*.

But to return to the Count *de Castriglio*, he dispatched also *Don Francesco Castracani*, (Lieutenant General of the Souldiers that came from *Milan*) to *Ottranto*, with a troop of *Burgundian* Horse, and two companies of Foot, newly raised, for to assist *John Baptista Brancaccio* Vicar-General there. He sent *Don Emanuel Caraffa* to the Randezvouz at *Sessa*, to command there as Lieutenant-General of the Horse, under the Prince *d' Avelino*; He recalled

called all the reformed Officers and Souldiers to give them Employment; He publiſhed an Act of Indulgence to all thoſe who were ſought after for any crimes, if they would bear Arms in that emergent occaſion, appointing *Burgos* a Judge to declare the continuance of this Grant, proportionable to the miſdeed committed.

He made choice of five Camp-Maſters, giving them Commiſſions to raiſe each of them a Regiment of *Neapolitan* Foot; He eſtabliſhed a new levy of a thouſand Cuiraſiers, which were raiſed at the charges of the Nobility. He remounted the *Germans* that came from *Milan*. He releaſed from Priſon *Don Vincenzo Tuttavilla*: and afterwards from the confinement to his houſe, where he lay under arreſt: He made the Marquefs of Saint

Eramo,

Eramo, *Don Gioſeppe Origlia*, and *Gioſeppe Papacoda* Captains of Horſe: No leſs was the care of the chief Miniſters at Court, in ſending Orders into all parts of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, for the levying of men, raiſing money, and providing all other Neceſſaries for carrying on the War.

The Vice-Roys and Governors of the Provinces, every one, ſtrove who ſhould merit moſt eſteem by their care in advancing in thoſe ſtreights, the deſignes of the Court.

Four hundred Foot were ſent to *Finale* for the ſervice of the State of *Milan*, 800000 Crowns were remitted into the Low Countreys by the Banquers. *Pachinotti*, The Conſtable of *Caſtile* was ſent into *Cataloxia* to exerciſe the Charge of General of the Horſe, under *Don John* of *Auſtria*.

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The Duke of *Montalto* Vice-Roy of *Valenza*, did contribute alſo to the management of the War in *Catalogna*, where the Kings ſon commanded in chief: every one by their readineſs manifeſting their loyalty, for the ſervice of their Monarch.

The Duke *dell' Infantado* Vice-Roy of *Sicily*, gave all aſſiſtance that Kingdom could ſubminiſtrate to the others: and no leſs was the diligence of the Duke of *Lemos*, Vice-Roy of *Sardegna*: but above all, the Marqueſs *de Caracena*, Governour of *Milan*, being moſt expoſed to the Invaſions of the Enemie, ſtrove to conſerve with that ſtate, the great eſteem he had purchaſed by his own valour: And although the *French* forces, now ready to deſcend into *Piemont*, were ſo potent, that they foreſaw very difficult and dangerous Incounters;

ters; yet the Authority of the Lord Captain was in such estimation with the Souldiers, that the hopes were more in his good Conduct, then in the strength of their Army; of such advantage is the good reputation of Ministers to the interest of a Prince

He was nothing terrified at the noise of the great Preparations of the *French*, but intento his Affairs, hastned the coming of the forces raised by the *Spanish* Agents in *Germany*, and gave out Commissions for other new levies; he fortified the Frontier Towns, and although a little before the Vice-Roy of *Naples* had given him hopes of great succors, yet by reason of the Fleet that was making ready in *Provence*, he had them not: but on the contrary, was forced to send thither 800 foot, with the most expert Officers of the Army in

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th *Lombardie*, However, with the
atic contribution of 100000 Crowns,
the from the City of *Milan*, and o-
goo ther conſiderable ſums remitted
h c from *Naples*, having fill'd up the
tag ſlender Companies, and the Soul-
lini diers being arrived from *Germany*
nce and other parts, raiſed by Offi-
d a cers of divers Nations, he found
rati himſelf in a condition to take
nto the field, and hinder the Enter-
nin prizes which the *French* had de-
Spa ſigned that year.

gav *Don John* of *Auſtria* was alſo
ner vigilant for the preſervation of
ntie *Catalonia*, with the forces ſent
be him out of the Kingdoms of
ha *Spain*, omitting no diligence in
ſuc the management of the War in
fle: that Principality. It concern'd
Pre the Royal Councel of *Spain*, to
t o recover the remainder of that
ſen Province, b cauſe if the *French*
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would be opened into the heart of that Kingdom, and of *Castile* it self, but so long as the *French* remained there, the *Spaniards* could not set themselves to the Enterprise of *Portugal*, because so great a diversion would render all their endeavors fruitless.

He caused new Fortifications to be made about *Barcellona*, and dismantled the walls of all the other places in that Province as superfluous and of great expence, except *Lerida*, *Tarragona*, *Hostalich*, *Girona*, and some other Fortresses of most importance.

The *Spanish* Army was reduced to a thousand Horse, and 3500 Foot: so that the *French* having succoured *Roses* a little before: and upon the arrival of fresh Troops alarmed the rest of the Towns.

Don John did not a little service in defending what they then possessed.

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The Vice-Roy of *Naples* alſo did very much in preventing the danger likely to befal him, there having been ſet afoot ſuch miſchievous Practiſes in that Kingdom, that if the Invaſion had found an anſwerable correſpondence in thoſe people; the *French* might have hoped for a crop proportionable to the ſeed they had Sowne.

The Court of *France*, reſolved to ſet upon *Naples*, upon the confidence of the diſcontented Inhabitants, who (the civill diſcords in *France*, being extingniſhed) much longed to ſee the *French* Enſigns once more diſplaied in their Kingdom. The Abbot *Volpiano*, was then at *Rome*, whom the Duke of *Guiſe*, had imploy'd in the former revolutions, This man holding correſpondence with ſome *Neapolitans*, communicated all their tranſacting

actions to *John Rinaldi Monaldeschi*, and to the Marquess *Maximilian Palombara*, who in the late Rebellion, bore arms in *Abruzzo*, against the *Spaniards*, where he was taken prisoner but made his escape out of the fortress of *Pescara*; these joyning together concluded that *Volpiani*, should go to *Paris*, and there exhibite the propositions of them all and treate with *Mazarine*, and the Duke of *Guise*, lately arrived there from his Imprisonment in *Spain*

Volpiani went accordingly, and accomplished his Embassy for with his plausible arguments demonstrating the facility of the enterprize he quickly ingaged the King, the Cardinal, and the Duke of *Guise*; so easily are people perswaded to that thing they'd fain.

It was therefore resolved to set

ſet out a Fleet, and to ſend along with it the Duke of *Guiſe*; And Order was given to *Monaldeſchi*, to make what levies he could, as well in *Rome* as in other parts of the Eccleſiaſtical State; to the end, that having got a conſiderable body together he might enter into *Abruzzo*, and encourage the mal-contents to Arm and declare openly: By this means they hoped to divide the ſtrength of the *Spaniards*, that ſo they might have the eaſier acceſs on the other ſide with their Navy: it being a Maxime, that by diverting the ſtrength of the enemy you invigorate your own.

To this effect, the Duke of *Caſtel novo*, the Marqueſs of *Acaia*, and the Baron *Quintio* with other great perſons of the diſcontented party return'd from *France*, and came to *Rome*.

The direction of the whole Affair was committed to Cardinal *Antonio Barberine*, (*Mazarins* great Confident) ſupported by a multitude of friends, and much more by the good opinion of all ſorts of people for his great liberality and alluring qualities. He undertook it with ſuch chearfulneſs, that out of his own purſe, he furniſhed them with all the Arms, and the greateſt part of the Horſe, and other Neceſſaries. Yet he told them, he was of opinion, that that Enterpriſe was not laid upon ſo ſolid a foundation as was requiſite for a matter of that importance; and that they ought to be wary of giving too much credit to thoſe who ſpoke only through intereſt.

There was with the Cardinal one of the Kings Secretaries, named *Tevenot*, through whoſe hands

hands the most considerable disbursements, pass'd and who was privy to the most important resolutions.

The Duke of *Guise* sent likewise one of his chief servants, called *la Tagliada* a Provensal, with some returns of money for the assistance of their party in *Abruzzo*, and to assist in raising the souldiers: In this Affaire *Monaldeschi* had a great part, the orders and results agreed on, passing through his hands, who in the first place made use of Captain *Francesco Landini*, one well versed in the ways and Country of *Abruzzo*, and confines of the Ecclesiastical State, he having had some command in those parts in the former revolutions.

He drew men together out of sundry Neighboring Towns and Villages, and conducted

them to *Pansano*, an Abbey of Cardinal *Antonio*'s, where they made their Randezvouz; Others employ'd to the same end, were *Benedetto Santi*, Captain *Francisco Maria Colelia*, and within *Rome*, Captain *Philippo Lionelli*, and Captain *Bartholomeo Barlani*, with others, that were desirous to change their condition and to raise their fortunes by fishing in troubled waters.

It is not to be wondred at, if in *Rome* and the Churches Dominions such Preparations were made against the *Spaniards*, to whose side a little before the whole Court seemed passionately addicted: for, by the new Alliance lately contracted betwixt the House of *Barberine*, and the Pope's Family, and the reconciliation of *Donna Olimpia*, his near Relation, and the dis-

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favour of Cardinal *Aſtaldi*, and Prince *Cadoviſio*, both of them moſt partial friends of the Crown of *Spain*, the confidence which was before between the Miniſters of *Spain*, and thoſe of the *Vatican*, being much leſſened, the Authority which the *Spaniards* had before in *Rome*, was likewiſe much abated: ſo that although his Holineſs did in appearance ſhew a diſguſt againſt Cardinal *Antonio*, (who regarded nothing but to ſerve well his King, without fear of the Popes indignation,) yet no courſe was taken to ſtop his proceeding: nay, it was believed, that *Innocent* finding himſelf ſickly, and near his end, thought it not convenient to leave the Crown of *France* at difference with the Holy Sea, and therefore he cauſed his Miniſters to connive at it.

Wherefore *Don Camillo*, with the Popes leave, gave up his Office and retired, to partake of the disgraces of the *Spaniards*; for he perceiving that Cardinal *Trivultio* and the Count *d'Ognate* Vice-Roy of *Naples* had declared (either out of Policie or in reality) a diffidence of the Pope, whereby they were like to enkindle a fire very prejudicial unto his Catholick Majesty; and observing on the other side a most exact compliance in the Minister of *France* towards his Holiness. To manifest his immoveable fidelity to the Crown of *Spain*, he asked leave of the Pope, with much resolutenes and prejudice to his family, to absent himself from Court.

All the *Spanish* Ministers were very much concerned for him, and especially the Duke of *Terra-*

ra-nuova the Embaſſador, then ſucceeding *Trivultio*, who offred him in the Kings Name a large Salary, with expreſſions of thankfulneſs due to one who had rendred himſelf a Victime to his Catholick Majeſties ſervice, throughout the whole courſe of his Uncles Pontificate.

The downfall of Cardinal *Aſtalli* hapned in the beginning of *February* 1644. occaſioned by divers diſguſts given the Pope, For the better underſtanding of which, and for the greater ſatisfaction of thoſe that are curious to know the Cabal of the Court of *Rome*, I crave licence to make a ſhort digreſſion of the moſt hidden motives which occaſioned this unexpected accident, relating with all ſincerity the things *pro & contra*, according to the common fame, opi-

nion and the declaration of thoſe that were therein concerned.

After the death of *Urban* the the eighth, Cardinal *John Baptiſta Pamfilio* was looked upon by many as a perſon moſt fit for that ſupreme dignity: but Cardinal *Antonio Barberine* then Protector of the *French*, being his enemy, *Pamfilio* was excluded by his oppoſition, who drew after him above twenty Voices, ſo that he could not obtain his hopes. Whereupon being endowed with a natural ſagacity, he preſently bethought himſelf how he might mollifie *Antonio*.

Cardinal *John Giacomo Panzirolo*, a ſubtile and crafty perſon, did very much promote the intereſt of *Pamfilio* his moſt intimate friend; and being newly arrived from *Spain*, and entred into

into the Conclave already ſhut up, they conſulted together by what way they might appeaſe *Antonio*, making uſe of the fair Proſpective of intereſt, which commonly ſooths the genius of thoſe who are ambitious to become greater then others. *Panzirol* interpoſed as Mediator betwixt them: and profeſſing himſelf a creature to the Houſe of *Barberin*, he declared to Cardinal *Antonio*, that he was concerned only upon the obligation of Gratitude, and an earneſt deſire to promote his greatneſs; upon which account he propoſed unto him *Pamfilio* for a faithful friend and ſervant: forming his diſcourſe with eloquent words, of which he was well furniſhed.

Antonio ſhewed a repugnance to theſe Propoſals, eſteeming it a vanity to believe that new ob-

ligations, ſhould obliterate old injuries. *Panzirolo* replied that the end of Warre was Peace and that the moſt Heroick diſpoſition was to forget injuries that if he did conſent, ſo highly to gratifie one held to be his enemie, he ſhould not only gain an univerſal applauſe, but alſo receive the effects of thoſe obligations which bind the minds of them who are out done with courteſies.

He aſſured him that *Pamfilio*, was ſo well diſpoſed towards him, that if he would but favor him to go into the next cell to his, which was then void he ſhould over-hear by his talk what his inclinations were.

The diſcourſe followed, betwixt *Pamfilio*, and *Panzirolo*, about the *Popedom*, and the buſineſs was ſo well carried, that *Antony*, being wholly pacified he be-

began to entertain new hopes; inſtilled into his mind by thoſe crafty Councels which are wont to be invented by neceſſity and ambition.

Pamfilio complained to *Panzirolo* of his ill fortune in having Cardinal *Antonio*, for his Enemy and declared that he would never have put in for the Popedom if *Antonio*, had not put him upon it, that if he knew his intentions he would not hinder his promotion, for he purpoſed immediatly upon his Election to make a match between his Nephew *Camillo*, and the Lady *Lucretia Barberin*, and that *Antonio*, being of a more franck and generous humor then his Brother *Franciſco*, he ſhould have the dignity of Cardinal Nephew. None of his own family being fit for that charge.

Cardinal *Antonio* reflected on this

this discourse, and considered that if the Marriage went on, and he made Nephew, the Election would not displease *France*; Wherefore all things being agreed on with *Panzirolo*, consented and approved on by the Marques of Saint *Simon* then Embassadour of *France*; who declaring, that on those termes he should concur to the Election, The Exclusion of *France* was taken off, and *Pamfilio* chosen Pope.

In this manner *Pamfilio* being elected Pope by the name of *Innocent* the tenth; he began to think of the Marriage between *Don Camillo* and Lady *Lucretia*, Daughter to *Don Thadeo* Governour of *Rome*, *Panzirolo* being the Person that had all along bin Instrumental in this Negotiation p.essed to have it concluded.

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But the enemies of the *Barberines*, being no ways pleased with this Alliance, it is commonly believed they did endeavour to obstruct it.

This Match therfore was broken off, but *Innocent* still shewing a desire to unite his family with the *Barberines*, told *Panzirolo* that he should most willingly see the Lady *Constanza*, *Donna Olympia*'s daughter, married to the Prefects son, Governour Prince: *Panzirolo* spake immediately to Cardinal *Bernardino Spada*, and in short told him, if the *Barberins* would embrace this Match in lieu of the orher, that they would resolve on it without delay, and it should be effected.

Spada proposed it to Cardinal *Francisco* and *Antonio*, *Francesco* did not disapprove of it; but took time to consider on't, and

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return his Answer, which he did after a few days, declaring, that before they entred into the Treaty, he desired the Prefecture might be decided; *Spada* gave a shrug, and could not forbear to tell him, that the demand was very improper to desire the Prefecture before the Lady, which would follow of course as Nephew to the Pope; and prayed him to desist from that thought, and accept of the proffer; But the perplexity of *Barberin*, joyned with the discourses of some, who gave out that this was but a trick to delude them again, as they had done in the former Treaty; or whether the repugnance of *Donna Anna Colonna* to that Match; or what other reason, the Resolution was deferred so long, that the Pope began to suspect himself mock'd: On this occasion the *Spaniards* and

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Florentines were encouraged to endeavour to marry the ſaid *Donna Conſtanza* to the Prince *Don Nicolo Ludoviſio*, to the end that the houſe of *Pamfilio* might not have the leaſt Alliance with the *Barberins*, which they accompliſh'd.

The *Barberines* being thus Overſeen, all their enemies conſpired to ruine them totally; and with them alſo Cardinal *Panzirolo*, as a Promoter of that affinity.

They intimated to the Pope, that as a juſt Prince he ought to call Cardinal *Antonio* to an Account for ſeveral Actions, about which continual Memorials were preſented to his Holineſs; and to effect their deſignes, they attempted to gain the Abbot *John Brazeſe*, the moſt truſty of Cardinal *Antonio*'s ſervants, and therefore could inform them of every

every thing, and in particular of the horrid case of the two Nuns, murdred in *Bologna*.

The Marquess *Mattei* was enjoyn'd to speak to *Brazese*; But whether the Promises made him, either of profit or dignities, did not answer the ambition of the Abbot, or whether he relied more on the experimented generosity of *Antonio*, then on the niggardliness of the Pope; or that gratitude prevailed in him above treachery; preferring his reputation above all other respect, he could not be prevailed with to betray his Master; Wherefore under various pretexts, and particularly, as being privy to the death of the two Nuns, he was seized on, and conveyed to *Bologna*, and after a season transferr'd to *Urbino*; for *Charles Porsenti*, who was also imprisoned, being constant

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on the torture, they could proceed no further in the Proſcution.

Cardinal *Antonio* ſuſpecting ſome contrivance againſt him by his enemies, began to make way for his reconciliation with *France*, by means of the Cardinal *de Valenze*, who to that end paſſed into *France*, (without giving notice thereof to the Pope) to juſtifie him to the moſt Chriſtian King, and get him again into favour, which having obtained by means of Cardinal *Mazarine*, ſatisfied with the Reaſons alledged by *Valenze*, he departed ſuddenly from *Rome* the 27th of *December* 1645. and pretending to go to *Monte Rotondo*, he paſſed privately to *Porto* with one only Attendant, and thence, in a little *Brigantine*, conveyed himſelf to *Genoua*, where he ſtayed ſome few days, ex-

expecting more expreſs Orders from *France*, which being come, he went on to *Turin*, where he was received and treated by their Royal Highneſſes, with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Eſteem and Honour; from thence he paſſed to the Court of *France*, where he was welcomed by Cardinal *Mazarine*, with great demonſtrations of cordiality and Gratitude, and he and his whole Family taken into the Kings favour and Protection.

The Pope and Cardinal Nephew were not a little ſtartled at the flight of Cardinal *Antonio*, and gave out, that they never had the leaſt ill intention againſt him; and in confirmation thereof, they publickly declared, that they had burnt whole bundles of Memorials of the Princes and People againſt the *Barberins*, and particularly Cardinal

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Pamfilio, averred that he had loved and reverenced him intirely, which was evident by this Argument, that by the means of Monsigno *Lomellino* Governor of *Rome*, he had given him private intelligence, that the imprisonment of the Abbot *Brassese*, and *Charles Porsenti*, his servants, upon the account of the Nunnes of *Bolsena*, could not be avoided; besides som Months after, a little box of writings of great importance, amongst which were many blancks subscribed, which had bin left with his Secretary, falling into the hands of the Officers of the Governor of *Rome*, he had caused the Papers of most consequence, and in particular the Blancks to be taken out, and sent to Cardinal *Antonio*, by *Thomas Martio*, Abbot of the Conventuals of St. *Saviours* in *Lauro*.

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He might have probably bin assured that neither the Pope nor his Nephew Prince *Pamfilio* bore him any ill-will, by reason of the favours his Holiness shewed him in confirming him Legate of *Avignon*, and of the Governments of *Cavaglioni* and *Tivoli*, given at his request. Of which favours the Abbot *Cesare Malvicini*, formerly his Secretary, and now in the service of *Pamfilio*, carried the News to the Cardinal, from his Patron Prince *Pamfilio*, as may appear by the reciprocal letters under their own hands of the 9. and 22. of *September* 1644. full of hearty expressions.

He said moreover, that Cardinal *Antonio* might judge he had no spleen against him, seeing he had entertained into his service, three of his most trusty ser-

servants, who did always afterwards continue their fidelity towards *Antonio* in all occasions, these were the Abbot *Malvicini* above-mentioned; *Ulysses Montani* and *Charles Eustachy*; To this he added, his having placed a secret Chamberlain, and Secretary of the Briefs and Memorials to the Pope his Uncle, *Monsignor Fantanelli*, a Person much confided in by the house of *Barberine*, and particularly by Cardinal *Antonio*: But above all, as a convincing Argument, that there was no ill meaning towards them. Cardinal *Panzirolo* their Creature and Dependent was Chief Minister of State, and the Popes great Confident.

Notwithstanding these Reasons, the jealousies and suspicions of the *Barberins* were not asswaged; But distrusting more

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and more to ſtay in *Rome*: and holding their condition deſperate, ſince Cardinal *Franceſco* had received Anſwer from *Donna Olympia*, that ſhe could prevail nothing with the Pope in their behoof, ſeeing words and deeds did not ſuit together. They all retired from *Rome* (except the Cardinal of St. *Onufrio*) and with that ſecreſie, that they were almoſt got to *Marſelles* before their departure was diſcovered.

In this Voiage the *Barberines* were expoſed to great danger, for having appointed a Veſſel near *Finmerino*, which kept at a diſtance, under colour of fiſhing. Cardinal *Franceſco*, the Prince Prefect, with his three ſons, and his Daughter *Donna Lucretia*, entred into a Boat fraighted with Oranges, to get

to

to the Ship, but a furious tempest arising on a sudden, they could not come near her, but were forced to commit themselves to the mercy of the winds and sea, in that little boat. They all confessed themselves to the Cardinal, expecting every moment to have been swallowed up by those tempestuous billows. At length they were driven to *Marselles*, where being in a manner miraculously preserved, they gave thanks to God, and large rewards to the Seamen, comforting one another that they had been protected by Heaven, whilst they were persecuted by the malice of men.

This unexpected flight of the *Barberines*, with their little innocent Nephews, did extreamly disturb the Popes mind, who hearing that the people exclaimed on him as another *Herod*; it per-

perplexed him so extreamly, and so highly incensed him, that in that height of passion he was likely to have taken some violent course; but being a Prince of mature judgment, he stood wavering some time in irresolution, whether he should make any shew of his exasperated mind; as he was instigated by those who wished the extirpation of the *Barberines*.

Panzirolo was then in entire favour with the Pope, and no man had the courage to go about to remove him, he being the subtilleſt person in the *Romane* Court: who measuring every thing with a most exquisite judgment, and being the chief Minister, was the person that fomented this irresoluteness in the Pope, for which he drew upon himself the *odium* of the contrary party; whom he oppo-

oppoſed with ſuch Perſpicacity, that he made vain all their Arts and Machinations.

In this while it hapned, that *Panzirolo* was ſeized with a Fit of the Stone, which kept him for many weeks in bed with exceſſive pain, ſo that his enemies taking heart, made uſe of this occaſion, while ſo potent a help near the Pope, was by his infirmity rendred uſeleſs. They employed therefore *Monſignior Maſcambruno* Subnotarie, a crafty perſon, full of tricks and diſſimulations, who knowing well how to make his Plots ſuit with the Popes Genius, he had much advanced himſelf in the opinion and eſteem of the Dependents on the Palace.

Wherefore being gained by the contrary party, and encouraged through [illegible]

impiously instill'd into Princes by the Doctrine of *Nicholas Macchiavel*, entring one day into discourse with the Pope, he represented with great Animosity, the necessity of giving Peace and Security to his Government; that since by his Actions he had made the *Barberins* his enemies, he ought to use the best means to secure himself from their revenge by totally suppressing those from whom he could expect nothing but danger; and with these Political Maxims, he intermingled those of particular interest, shewing, that with the spoils of the *Barberins* he might much advance the House of *Pamfilio*.

These things craftily proposed, penetrated into the mind of *Innocent*, who being of a timorous nature, reliſh'd the Advice

Advice, and in vertue of a Bull iſſued out few Months before againſt the Cardinals, upon the occaſion of Cardinal *de Valenze*'s going into *France* without leave: he conſented to proceed againſt them, not reflecting upon the conſequence.

In the mean time, hapned the untimely death of Prince *Don Paolo Borgeſe* Husband to *Donna Olimpia Aldobrandina* Princeſs of *Roſſano*, and only Heireſs of that family, whoſe riches accompanied with the rare qualities of her mind and high Birth awakened the affections of Cardinal *Pamfilio* to deſire her for his wife, having had a paſſion, for her long before, even whilſt Cardinal *Hipolito Aldobrandini* was yet alive, who conceiving great hopes that the Uncle might come to be Pope, had caſt out ſome words, that in that

case he might perhaps marry the Princess his Neece, to *Don Camillo*. But *Aldobrandino* departing this world before Pope *Urban*, and being desirous before he died to see his Neece bestowed, a Match was hastily concluded with *Don Paulo Borghese* which *Urban* so highly resented (who had an intention to have married her to one of his great Nephews) that he fell severely upon Father *Ralph* a Dominican, and published a Bull upon the subject of Marriages with Heiresses, forbidding such contracts without the knowledge and consent of the Pope.

But notwithstanding the Mother of the Cardinal Nephew was instrumental in this Match not without the knowledge and consent of *Innocent*, yet they proceeded with such Arts, that the people commonly believed

that ſhe her ſelf did really diſ-approve of it, Inventing a thouſand Reaſons againſt it without any ground at all; but the meer *Chimera* of thoſe which in the Court of *Rome*, being idle and having nothing to do, paſs their time in cenſuring and interpreting the Actions of their Superiors, according to their own abſurd Fancies; They ſaid, that *Donna Olympia* could not any ways approve, that her Son, renouncing his Cap, ſhould paſs away thoſe Emoluments, which during the life and after the death of his Unckle he might bring to his Family: beſides the wonted Prerogatives of Abbies, Penſions and other things, which upon vacancy, do fall into the hands of the Cardinal Nephew, the advantage whereof are very great; The retenders cuſtomarily making large Pre-

ſents and Regalio's; neither could ſhe like, that a Princeſs of ſo high a ſpirit, ſhould enter into the preſent ſovereign family, leſt that her greatneſs and authority, ſhould be thereby diminiſhed.

Probably the Pope likewiſe did not aſſent to this Marriage, it being ſcandalous to prefer Matrimony before Cardinalſhip, an Example known to have happened only in one Pontificate, which left an ill fame behind it, as that of *Alexander* the ſixth, in which the Duke *de Valentinois* on that ſcore quitted his Cap.

Innocent made them believe that his Nephew ſhould continue Cardinal till he had got an eſtate, and made himſelf a ſtrong party; and that then he ſhould marry into the Family of the *Barberins*: to put an end to the differences with

that

that Family. It was muttered that the Pope was desirous of this Match to secure the succession of his House. But that he would have the contrary to be believed, and that he had no part in an Affair that might give people occasion to say, that all were tricks to elude his Promise to the *Barberins*, to marry his Nephew with *Donna Lucretia*, for most did suppose that if it had been his will that Prince *Don Camillo* should have married *Barberina* in stead of *Aldobrandina*, he had been obeyed without dispute.

The opinion passed currant through out *Rome* that although his holiness had agreed to the mariage, between his Nephew and *Aldobrandina*, hee would notwithstanding make the world believe that he did not assent to it, and to this intent hee caused

Cardinal *Capponi*, and Duke *Savelli*, on the one hand to dissuade Don *Camillo* from it; and in the mean while he himself bade him hold firm to his resolution and dispatch it out of hand; which finally was effected. But as it was outwardly carried to bee against the Popes minde, so it was requisite that his Holiness should shew himselfe very much disgusted; and to give colour to the business he forbid the wedding to be celebrated in *Rome*, and commanded the affianc'd couple to depart the City.

This determination of the Court, which is the Touchstone of the actions of great persons, was taken for a piece of policie and Oeconomy together; whilst the Pope, covering with a dissembled disdain, his spleen against the *Barberins*, he spared those vast expences which would have bin re-

requiſite for the pomp of that Ceremony: and for the maintaining a Court with extravigant greatneſs, which is ofttimes the ruine of great families. Others ſaid, the marriage was concluded by agreement on all ſides, & that the Popes intention was that his Nephew ſhould not appear in *Rome* except *Incognito*, until the year of Jubile was paſt, becauſe he having born ſo great a dignity in the Church, he thought it not decent that he ſhould be ſeen to day with a Cardinals Cap on his head, and on the morrow with a wife in his hand. Beſides, having conſtituted him Generall of the Church, when the *French* army was entred into the midſt of *Italie*, and therefore fearing a new War he would not that it ſhould bee ever ſaid, that by the abſence of his Nephew from command, there hapned any Calamity to any part of

Italie, for the peace whereof his Holineſs was viglant in a high degree.

The affairs of *Innocent* ſtanding thus, and the two Cardinals *Franceſco* and *Antonio* courteouſly received in *France*, and taken into protection. Prince *Thomas*, of *Savoie*, was ſent with forces, by Sea and Land (and many think with the *Barberins* mony) to beſiege *Orbitello*, but without ſucceſs. *Don Camillo* keeping intelligence with the *Spaniards* aſſiſted them underhand, with men, mony, ammunition and other neceſſaries, with deſign not ſo much to promote the intereſt of *Spain*, as to ſerve the peace of the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate and of all *Italy*: a while after the Mareſhals *de Pleſſis Pralin* and *Milleray* were ſent with freſh forces, to attaek *Piombino* and *Porto Longone*, which enterpriſe ſucceeding *Ludoviſio*, Prince of

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Piombino, was much troubled for the loſs of that place.

The *Spaniards* ſuſpecting the Kingdom of Naples, and the Pope in great apprehenſions. he began to hearken to an agreement with the *Barbarins* propoſed by the Abbot of St. *Nicholas* in the Name of the moſt Chriſtian King Cardinal *Franceſco* was recalled to *Rome*, *Antonio* had leave graunted him to ſtay in *Avignon*, whereof hee had the title of *Count*, and to return again at his pleaſure into *France* where he had left his little Nephews, (their Father the Prefect of *Rome* being departed this life at *Paris*.

Innocent perceiving himſelf to be far advanced in years, and that he had no Cardinal of his blood to aid him in bearing the burden of his Pontificate: it entred into his thoughts to adopt one, who undertaking the

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Government might keep his Creatures united together, and forme a ſtrong party to preſerve the Memory of his Greatneſs to Poſterity. He gave a touch of this to *Panzirolo*, adding, that he was reſolved to do it, and that it would trouble him if he diſapproved it

Panzirolo was moſt ready to ſecond the wiſhes of his Holineſs, who ending his diſcourſe by biding him ponder well on it. *Panzirolo* anſwered him in theſe preciſe words, *Holy Father, Think well on it your ſelfe, and take heed, that in lieu of placing a Head over your Creatures to unite them, you doe not kindle a fire of diviſion*; and withal asked him if he had not participated his intent to his Siſter-in-law *Donna Olympia*.

The Pope revolved it in his mind over and over; and at laſt ſetled his judgement to adopt

opt a Cardinal, seeing *Panzirolo* for some particular Reasons refused to personate that dignity, forbearing to receive so much as a bare Memorial.

That which the Pope would have desired of *Panzirolo*, was to take Order for the Audience of Embassadors, and other foreign Ministers, from which *Panzirolo* always excused himself, alledging divers Reasons, to avoid that Embarrass, and not to deviate from that Moderation by which he had hitherto conserved his Authority and Favour with his Holiness.

The Pope being thus fully resolved, the Cardinal pursued his discourse, saying, that they must consider who was the fittest person: and since there was none of his own blood, they ought to seek what relations his Sister-in law had. He presently pur-

perceived, that the Pope inclined to *Monſignior Camillo Aſtalli* (Clerk of the Chamber, and Brother to the Marqueſs, who had married a Neece of *Donna Olympia*'s) not ſo much for his Alliance to his Siſter, as for the old acquaintance he had with his family.

And knowing the Pope's humour, that he did not care to propoſe him himſelf; rather deſiring that he ſhould be named by another. *Panzirolo* craftily and dextrouſly drew up a Liſt of ſeveral, *viz. Albici*, *Boromeo*, *Imperiale* and *Aſtalli*; and then frankly told him, that if his Holineſs was reſolved to proceed to the Election of a Cardinal for his family, amongſt theſe perſons nominated his judgement was for *Aſtalli*, delating his Diſcourſe much in his praiſe, as well to pleaſe the Pope,

as

as to gain the favour of *Donna Olympia*, who always had countenanced *Aſtalli* in hopes to ſee him Cardinal, thereby to advance the Family of her Neeces Husband.

This man was introduced into the favour of *Panzirolo*, by contracting a friendſhip with his moſt familiar acquaintance, and in particular with *Decio Azzolino*, a Gentleman of *Fermo*, Secretary of the Ciphers under *Panzirolo*, and in great truſt; who by reaſon of his good parts and complaiſant carriage, accompanied with a ready wit, was in a very good eſteem at Court, daily aſſiſting with *Panzirolo* at Audience, reading the Letters, and taking Orders and Directions touching them.

The Pope deſirous his Siſter-in-law ſhould be informed of this reſolution, that ſhe might not

not be surprized at the suddenness of the thing by *Panziroles* Advice, he communicated it to her himself, but so dubiously, not passing to any particulars, nor discovering it was so near effecting, That *Donna Olympia*, well acquainted with the Popes ways of Proceeding, (who was naturally dilatory in his Resolutions) did not oppose it for the present, supposing he would not easily conclude a matter of that importance.

After a few days, in the next Consistory, unexpectedly he promoted him, and declared him Cardinal of the Family of *Pamfilio*; and the same day that he gave him the Cap, he sent him to inhabit his Palace in *Piazza Navona*, where he received the Visits of the Court.

He presented him likewise with ten thousand Crowns. At this

this News Count *Gabrieli* Vice-*Caſtelan* of the Fortreſs St. *Angelo*, with *Febei* Chief Maſter of Ceremonies, came to the Palace to know if the great Guns ſhould be ſhot off according to the Cuſtom when Popes Nephews are promoted: *Panzirolo* anſwered, that he had been declared Cardinal of the Family, not Nephew. Nevertheleſs, *Monſignior Azzolini* was ſent to the Pope to know his pleaſure, who came juſt in the moment when the Pope was cauſing the word Nephew to be blotted out of the Order--- He was ſigning for the ten thouſand Crowns, ſaying, he had adopted him into his Family, but not declared him his Nephew: *Azzolini* asked him, if his pleaſure was, the Guns ſhould be ſhot off? the Pope ſtood in ſuſpence a while, and then demanded what his opinion

pinion was? who replied, it could not but be well done; and that such demonstrations in the present case, seemed more necessary, then if he had been really of his Family, for such Honours would put him in greater esteem and credit; wherefore the Pope commanded to discharge the Guns, which was done accordingly.

This was the first and most remarkable manifestation that Pope *Innocent* shewed towards Cardinal *Astalli*, to qualifie him as Nephew, for in his promotion (if we ought to believe what visibly appeared) hee had no such intention, and to the Cardinals he never used any other expression then that he had adopted him into his family: though *Donna Olympia* at the first news was much startled, yet thinking the common report had represented the thing

greater

greater then really it was, ſhe did not much minde it: But afterwards when ſhe uuderſtood that he was declared of the houſe of *Pamfilio*; being a Lady of a high ſpirit, and knowing that ſhe was much valued by the Pope for the well governing of her family; ſhe fell into a ſudden paſſion, and was ſo incenſed againſt *Panzirolo*, whom ſhe ſuppoſed the contriver of this reſſolution, though for the time paſt they had allwaies been great friends, hee being the perſon that by his counſel and aſſiſtance, kept up her authority. She immediately with her daughters repaired to the *Vatican*, where whilſt the Pope expected their congratulations and thanks, they broke out into teares, and lamentations; nor could they be quieted for all the reaſons he alledged: whilſt the daughters entertained the Pope,

Pope, with ſuch doleful muſick; *Donna Olympia*, enraged, entred into a back chamber where *Panzirolo* was, and took him by the Rocket, *Saying, and thou traitor ſhalt pay for it.*

The Predictions of *Panzirolo* thus verified, that his Holineſs would bring a firebrand into his family; he (believing himſelf to be over-witted) began to waver and to repent, of the promotion he had made: ſeeing his reputation much diminiſhed, by reaſon of the inconveniences, and diſcontents that followed.

Panzirolo continuing to be the obiect of every mans hatred; uſed all cunning to fix the Pope in his reſolution, concerning *Aſtalli*; for whoſe ſake he was continually bated by all the dependents at Court, they not willingly enduring that a Perſon whom they had never obliged,

and

and that might divert the Popes bounty from them, ſhould come ſo near his Holineſs, and bear ſuch Authority in the Palace.

Panzirolo notwithſtanding being engaged, reſolved to carry it on: and upon the occaſion that *Innocent* was to ſpeak with divers Cardinals two days after, he perſwaded his Holineſs to declare unto them (as he did) that he had made this Election of *Aſtalli*, becauſe he wanted a Perſon, as well to receive the Addreſſes of foreign Miniſters, as thoſe of his own Court, and to ſupply what he could not perform alone.

But though *Panzirolo* thought by this Declaration, that he had ſecured the Affairs of *Aſtalli*; the Pope notwithſtanding ſtill diſtracted by his former Jealouſies; The very day that he gave him his Hat, the Cardinal coming

coming to take leave of his Holiness, to begin his Visits to the Colledge, he heard the Pope somewhat frowardly say to him; *Andate che non sappiamo, cosa habbiamo fatto*: get you going for we know not what we have done, whereat the Cardinal was amazed, considering, that the Pope of himself, and without the least cause given him, was thus incensed against him; he performed his visits, and a Memorial being presented to him, he refus'd to receive it, saying he had no authority for it, which also displeased the Pope.

In the mean while the complaints continued against *Astalli*, and *Panzirolo*, for endeavouing to defend him, who by reason the Pope grew daily more repid towards him, had a hard task to support him. yet by his restless pains

pains he began by little and little, to improve *Aſtalli*'s credit, and obtained at length that he ſhould lodge in the Palace, but not without much oppoſition, of the greateſt part of the Court, and of the Popes relations, who prevailed ſo farr that he was not admited to audience, and *Monſig-nor Segni* the Steward of the Houſhold, had expreſs charge not to let him have the allowances of the Palace, uſual to the Nephews ſo that *Panzirolo* maintained him, fifteen days at his proper charge: and lent him all his ſervants, from the Gentleman of of his chamber to the Cook. and this he did though even then he foreſaw in the demeanour of *Aſtalli*, that he had litle hopes, to compaſs his aims, yet he ſtill laboured in his behalf that he might be admited to audience. which was continually denied him.

One

One evening, *Panzirolo* entering into the Popes chamber, he sat down in a melancholy posture (being very expert at acting his part) and seemed to be extreamly afflicted, in so much, that the Pope ask'd him, what troubled him? he faining that he had passed through *Astalli's* lodgings, answered, Holy Father, I'le here speak freely, *I* come from that poor man Cardinal *Astalli*. who hath moved me to compassion, for he saies, if your Holiness had made him Cardinal of his own family, and given him but a indifferent revenue: He should have been the most fortunate man in the world, because then he should have had more then he was ambitious of; But now that your Holiness, without any thought of his, and farr beyond his merit, hath declared him of your house [illegible]

Prerogatives and qualifications, he is becom the moſt confounded man that ever was, for who will ever make the Court believe but that this alteration in your Holineſs, is for ſome great default, or demerit in him; and ſo he will come to loſe his credit and reputation, for a ſingular favor your Holineſs has bin pleaſed to beſtow upon him.

The Pope, moved to compaſſion by theſe words, which *Panzirolo* fain'd to have bin, though they were not ſpoken by *Aſtalli*, he cauſed him to be called for, but not behaving himſelfe as was expected, he look'd upon him with an unkind eye, which intimated, that he was not well pleaſed with him; ſo that *Panzirolo* found himſelf in a greater intrigue then before, becauſe the Pope began to complain that he had deceived him, not in telling

him a lie; but in only manifesting unto him that little of praiſ-worthy that was in him, and concealing the bad which was much greater. he added moreover, that he had not obteined any of the ends for which this election was deſigned; for inſtead of uniting his family, he had brought diviſion amongſt them, by which he had loſt all his relations; and on the other ſide, in lieu of having one neare him, that might aſſiſt and aide him, he was forc'd to take as much pains, as in breaking a Colt, uncapable of manage, and after all, he knew not how he would prove.

Yet *Panzirolo* hoping ſtill, & attributing the untowardly behavior of *Aſtalli* to his conſternation, urging above all to the Pope, the engagements of his reputation, not to fall back from what he

he had once done, he perſiſted defending the Cardinal with ſo much pains and difficulty, that he ſaid that that promotion would quickly haſten the death of *Innocent*; who declared that by no means *Aſtalli*, ſhould not come into his preſence, but only on Pacquet days, to hear the letters read.

Notwithſtanding all this, *Panzirolo* ſaid and did ſo much in behalf of *Aſtalli*, that he procured this favor for him, that the Pope cauſed him to be called for every evening, though he would never permit, that they ſhould enter together: but after he had diſcourſed with *Panzirolo* of what buſineſs he would not have *Aſtalli* privy to, he was called in.

Aſtalli in the meane-while remained in the Pallace, without the leaſt appearance of any pro-

visions or revenues, so that *Panzirolo* was forc't to solicit earnestly for him representing again to the Pope the necessitie to maintain what he had done, that he might not blemish his reputation by repenting, and shewing himself unconstant, without any cause, but his meer humor, and obtained a large allowance, for his Diet, his family, and stables.

He also induced his Holiness to confer upon him all the vacant Benefices, which in one time amounted to 8000 crowns *per Annum*, and to give him 2000 Crowns out of the Office of the Clerk-ship of the Chamber vacant by his promotion to the Cardinalship, declaring him superintendent Generall of the Ecclesiastical state, and afterwards Legat of *Avignon*, which dignitie at his promotion the Pope did positively resolve not

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to beſtow upon him; *Panzirolo* was forced to uſe great induſtry to bring theſe things to paſs one after another, having to ſtrive againſt the averſion of the Pope, unwilling to benefit a ſubject, of whom he had little good likeing, and againſt the machinations of his enemies who oppoſed him with all their might.

His Holineſs to put a curb upon *Aſtalli*, that he might not ſtart from his fidelitie, was reſolved to iſſue out a Brief, declaring that what he gained, ſhould be for the houſe of *Pamfilio*. In this alſo appeared the force of *Panzirolo's* acute witt, who although he was ſolely to contraſt with the Pope, for the intereſt of *Aſtalli*, oppoſed by ſo many adverſaries; yet he diſſwaded him from his purpoſe out of this only motive, that the ſtrongeſt tye upon *Aſtalli* would be

his gratitude, moreover that the world would think it savouring of Interest, rather then of Policie.

In short, these proceeedings did manifest what is the power of a man of resoluteness & parts, when he hath the ear of a Prince, and knoweth how to make use of opportunity with prudence; suiting it to the genius of his Prince, and the present conjuncture; and 'tis worth observing the marvellous fortune of *Astalli*, that Cardinal *Panzirolo*, who every year about that time was wont to be much afflicted with the gout, in this occasion was wholly free from it, and so not being hindred from waiting daily on the Pope, had opportunity to defend and uphold him.

Panzirolo bestirred himself likewise to the utmost of his power

to put *Aſtalli* into credit, by ſending to him all the Miniſters of ſtate and Agents, and by inſtructing him with the management of affaires, that belonged to himſelf, to get him eſteem.

The Pope had alſo determined, never to admit into the ſervice of *Aſtalli* any one of his Kindred, or of the welwiſhers to his family, yet *Panzirolo* prevailed ſo farr, that *Cavalier Caſſarelli* was made Maſter of his Chamber, and *Mario de Maſſimi* chief Gentleman of his Horſe, and not long after he obtained a penſion for each of them.

No leſs was his Art and induſtrie, in inducing the Pope to remove from him his Siſter in law, *Donna Olympia*, and alſo in hindring the reſt of his kindred from giving a check to the fortunes of *Aſtalli*: he informed his Holineſs that that woman, in the

opinion of the world, had been as prejudicial to his reputation as she had been bold, in endeavouring the retraction of a thing done, and declared in publique Consistorie, and to the Ministers of the Princes for the benefit of the holy See, and the publique, telling him that under pretext of kindness towards the house of *Pamfilio*, she heaped up riches which hereafter would be disposed on for the advancement of the house of *Maldachini*. The Pope for these and the like complaints, with which they did daily possess him, and chiefly for the inward disgust which he had in seeing that woman so obstinately perverse, that for all the perswasions his Holiness had used to her, he could never possibly prevail with her to rest satisfied, wherefore he resolved to dismiss her.

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In order to this he took from her a great part of the mony and other perquiſits, which till that time were in her poſſeſſion, giveing ſevere order that none under pain of his diſpleaſure ſhould viſit her; he cauſed ſome of her ſervants that were her greateſt favourites to be put away, and amongſt theſe *Lewis Rinalduci* of *Fano*, her Gentleman of the Horſe (who appeared her greateſt Confident,) as alſo his Brother *Theodoro*. At the inſtigation of *Panzirolo*, the ſupervi-ſing of his family was given to *Aſtalli*; and the better to fix his Holineſs in this determination he applied himſelf to the reconcile-ment of *Don Camillo Pamfilio*, and the Princeſs *Roſſano*, who be-ing received into the Popes fa-vour, *Panzirolo* laboured to unite them in a ſtreight correſpon-dence with *Aſtalli*, which in

outward appearance was ſo effected, but not in ſincerity, partly out of emulation and partly for ſelf-intereſt.

Prince *Pamfilio* being reconciled to the Pope, began to appear in *Rome* in great pomp, and with a numerous train, laying out great ſumms of mony in Tourneying and *Opera's* in muſick; Cardinal *Aſtalli* hearing the talke was that *Panzirolo* was the maſter and he the ſcholar, that he ſerved as a Taylors Apprentice to carry home the work, which the other faſhioned. He began to diſreliſh *Panzirolo* his ſo much poſſeſſing the Pope, bending his eare to the ſuggeſtions of thoſe who councelled him to make himſelf be more valued, and not to be guided by one who made uſe of him only as a candle & lanthorn to light him through his hidden paths and deſigns.

All

All *Panzirolo's* other adversaries concurr'd in this, and propoſed many things among themſelves, which for want of boldneſs, and for that *Panzirolo* was ſo fully grafted in the Popes favour, they durſt not attempt.

In the mean while it came into *Aſtalli's* thoughts to call to *Rome* his Couſin *Monſignor Franceſco Gaetano*, a man of great abilities from the Government of *Fermo*, whither the Pope had ſent him 20 months before; upon his coming to Court, the enemies of *Aſtalli* apprehending his authority, and fearing the conſequences of it, began to plot againſt *Gaetan*, and prevailed ſo farr as to obſtruct thoſe favours which afterwards the Pope conferred upon him. *Gaetan* joyning with the Marqueſs *Aſtalli*, brother to the Cardinal, and the reſt of *Panzirolo's* enemies, he endeavoured

endeavoured a greater combuſtion againſt him, getting to their party *Monſignor Maſcambruno*, whom they ſuppoſed a fit inſtrument for them, he having more free acceſs to the Pope then any of the reſt.

Maſcambruno had bin obliged to *Panzirolo* for many favours which by his meanes he had received from the Pope, but knowing him to be a very ſubtil man, he feared he might hinder his advancement, & ſo much the rather, becauſe *Panzirolo* profeſſing great obligations to the houſe of *Barberine*, could not behold him with delight who had bin the inſtrument of ſo great damage. Beſides the Pope being very much diſguſted with Cardinal *Cecchino* the preſent *Datarie*, and having one evening commanded him to forbear the Court, *Panzirolo* ſpake to the Pope very ſmartly

ſmartly, ſhewing him how ill an example it would be to ſend away a Cardinal in that manner, and for no other cauſe then only upon *Maſcambruno's* bare account, who with his ſycophant *Tales* cauſed theſe miſunderſtandings, in hopes of ſucceeding in the office of *Datarie*, when *Cecchino* ſhould be removed. *Panzirolo*, though otherwiſe not well pleaſed with *Cecchino*, yet thought fit to uphold him againſt *Maſcambruno*, who if he got to be *Datary* the next ſtep would be Cardinal, wherefore *Maſcambruno* conſidering that he ſhould never make his fortune whilſt *Panzirolo* continued his Authority with the Pope: he began to ſide with the contrary faction, which was no ſooner perceived in Court, but immediatly all the enemies of *Panzirolo* flock'd to him, & amongſt them ſeveral who ſecluded th mſelves

themſelves from ſecular affaires, not out of any ſanctified inſpiration, but out of ſelf-intereſt and hopes of Eccleſiaſtical preferments by his downfall, notwithſtanding, the credit of *Panziroli* with the Pope, was ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, and his eſteem and affection for him ſo great, that not any one durſt venture to break the ice, and the rather becauſe he perſevered in heaping obligations ſtill upon *Aſtalli*, aſſiſting him to his utmoſt ability, and on the other ſide acting with all franckneſs, he gave a great check to all the machinations that were contriving againſt him.

The three years commonly preſcribed for the legantine Government of *Bologna*, *Ferrara*, and *Romagna*, drawing near to a period, Cardinal *Raggi* aſpiring to that of *Bologna*, and Cardinal

Vidman

Vidman, to one of the others, they laboured with all industry to obtaine them, and mistrusting *Panzirolo*, who had induced the Pope to bestow that of *Bologna* upon Cardinal *Donghi*, they applied themselves to Cardinal *Cecchino*, making him believe that this was the way to gain the affection of *Innocents* Creatures, by freeing them from the affront which was put upon them, in the preferring of Cardinal *Donghi* a creature of *Urbans*, as if amongst those of *Innocent*, there was none capable of that employment.

Cecchino used his endeavours to ingage Cardinal *Astalli*, advising him to obstruct the election of *Donghi*, promoted at the instance of *Panzirolo*; But by reason none of the Pretendents could obtaine from the Pope, the said legation for themselves,

ſelves, they indeavoured at leaſt that it might not be conferred upon *Donghi*; To this end they inſtigated Cardinal *Peter Lewis Caraffa* to aske it for himſelf, but he making his excuſe by reaſon of his age, Gout, and other indiſpoſitions which rendered him unapt to undergo it, they could obtain of him but this; that if the Pope ſhould command him he would obey him, but of his own inclination he would never ask it: Hence they took occaſion to cozen both the Pope and *Caraffa*, by means of *Aſtalli* making him tell his Holineſs, that he was deſired by *Caraffa*, to beg for him the Government of *Bologna*. The Pope having already eſtabliſhed, and publiſhed the election of *Donghi*, thought it not likely that *Caraffa* ſhould requeſt it, and asked *Aſtalli* how that could be? he anſwered

ſwer'd that Cardinal *Cecchino* had told him ſo. *Panzirolo* was preſent at this diſcourſe, and though he was ſenſible of the unhandſome acting, nevertheleſs the Pope demanding his opinion, he anſwered, that ſeeing *Cecchino* ſaid ſo, it was true without doubt, adding that his Holineſs could not deny a Cardinal of that condition, and a creature of his own, ſuch a favour.

The Pope unwilling to make uſe of *Caraffa* in that Legation, and unſatisfied of the truth, he bid *Aſtalli* ask *Caraffa* himſelf; but he inſtead of asking him if he deſired it, told him, it was his Holineſs's pleaſure that he ſhould go Legat to *Bologna*; and the better to induce him, urged the neceſſity of preſerving the honor of the Creatures of his Holineſs. *Caraffa* believing that all this came from the

Popes

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Holineſs on the other ſide, think
ing that he had earneſtly deſire
it, and could not well deny him
he was declared Legate of *Bolo*
na, and *Donghi* of *Romagna*
This being afterwards diſco
vered by the Pope, he was of
fended at the cheat, but no
diſpleaſed to finde his Nephe
ſo quick-witted, ſeeing th
beſt quality of a Courtier con
ſiſts in making people believe on
thing for another, as occaſio
ſerves; wherfore he diſſembl
his diſpleaſure and let it paſ
About this time the *Bayliff* o
Valenze Embaſſador of *Fran*
was much offended, pretendin
he ought to have bin viſited b
the Popes Nephew, before th
Duke *dell' Infantado* Embaſſado
of *Spain*, for which cauſe he reti
red to *Tivoli*: Cavalier *Iohn Ge*
ſtiniano Embaſſador of *Venice*
inter-

interposed in this business, and after several propositals made by *Monsignor Berlenghi* Bishop of *Belluno*, (a Prelate of a lively Talent,) in the name of *Giustiniano*, the matter was brought to this pass, that *Valenze* declared he would rest satisfied, if the Cardinal would say to *Giustiniano*, *I shall visit the French Embassador*, without addition of first, or after, saying, that it being his customary due to be visited first, he judged it one and the same thing to say, I shall visit him, as I shall visit him first.

The Pope to avoid this embroyl, gave order to *Astalli* to forbear saying I shall visit: but that he should only say, I shall do what is convenient. The Cardinal nevertheless, assured *Monsignor Berlenghi* that he would comply with the Embassador, thinking it better perhaps

to

to ſpend one word then to enter into a troubleſom diſpute with *France*; the Biſhop having acquainted *Juſtiniano* herewith, he went to audience, and aſſured the Pope that all was adjuſted, and that the Cardinal had declared himſelf, in the manner aboveſaid, to the ſatisfaction of *Valenze*.

The Pope not to contradict the Embaſſador, ſaid no more, but ſending for the Cardinal, asked him if it was true? who anſwering no, the Pope acquainted *Panzirolo*, reſolving to ſend to *Juſtiniano* to let him know his diſpleaſure, for impoſing upon him one thing for another.

Panzirolo knew too well that *Aſtalli* had uttered theſe words, but would not have it come to the Popes ear, wherefore not to irritate him further, he endeavoured handſomly to ſmother the buſineſs

buſineſs. But his Holineſs, not ſatisfied, replyed, that either the Cardinal had ſaid it, or not? *Panzirolo* anſwered, I verily believe that he hath not, being he denies it; The Pope ſent *Monſignor Azzolino*, to the *Venetian* Embaſſador to tell him, that the Cardinal had not ſpoken thoſe words, *I ſhall viſit him*. *Juſtiniano* being very much ſtartled at this meſſage; *Azzolino* deſired him to take the Cardinals words in the ſence the Pope explicated them, for admiting he had ſaid ſo, it being againſt the mind of his Holineſs he durſt not own it; *Azzolino* returning to the Palace before he delivered his anſwer to the Pope, he acquainted *Panzirolo* with it; who conjured him to conceal what the Embaſſador had ſaid to him, and to tell him only, that he was ſatisfied with the declaration his Holineſs had made him. The

The Bishop of *Belluno* returned to the Cardinal Nephew complaining of his denying what before he had said, who answered, he had done it for satisfaction of his Holiness, laying all the fault upon *Panzirolo*, saying that he had used him ill, & so the dispute ended for that time.

The Cardinal falling sick, and the Duke *Dell' Infantado* departing for *Sicilie*, and Cardinal *Trivultio* succeeding in his place this contest for visiting was decided, it belonging to *Trivultio* in the first place as Cardinal. But *Panzirolo* as he regarded not the train laid for him, so the impairment in his health, by reason of an indisposition of stomack, contracted seven yeares before, dayly increasing at that time, made him so weak that the Pope fearing lest he should lose him, commanded a consultation

ſultation of Phyſitians to be held in the houſe of *Cælicoli*, (at that time not well) about the Cardinals diſtemper, and ordeined that he ſhould keep his bed, and wholly lay aſide his imployment of Secretary of ſtate, *Panzirolo* obeyed, and took his bed in the month of *July* 1651. ſome days before, *Aſtalli* being fallen ill, *Panzirolo* went to viſit him, it being inconvenient, that the differenceswhich were growing between them ſhould be known, leſt others ſhould make their advantages by them: *Aſtalli* receved him with ſmall tokens of kindneſs; nevertheleſs *Panzirolo* took no notice of it, holding it neceſſary to make the Court beleeve that he was ſtill his director.

Aſtalli for ſome time before had no great friendſhip for *Monſignor Farneſe*, who by *Panzirolo's* meanes

meanes was made governour of *Rome*, and by an accident that happened afterwards, his hatred towards him was much augmented; which was, that upon the vacancy of the office of the Governors chief criminal Notary, Cardinal *Astalli* endeavoured to put in a Notarie, which was a dependent on his family, and found meanes to do it, unknown to the Governour, which being represented to the Pope, he not only forbade his admittance to that place; but also commanded him to be sent to the Galleys; *Panzirolo* also in this Affair doing the part of a good friend, endeavoured to compose the difference between him and *Farnese*, and found great propension on the part of the latter, who had had no other end then to serve the Pope: and to acquit himself in his office honourably

ably for the reſt; he bore all due reſpect to the dignity of the Cardinal Nephew: But *Aſtalli* offended ſtill more and more with *Panzirolo*, and his ſuſpicion increaſing, that he accounting him but as a cipher, thwarted him in every thing, acting of himſelf alone without his knowledge or approbation, he united himſelf more ſtreightly with *Maſcambruno* and the other Confederates againſt him: but becauſe they knew it was not in their power to ruine him, whilſt with his ſubtle carriage, he ſo humoured the Pope; they conſulted together what was to be done: *Maſcambruno*, crafty in the higheſt degree concluded that there was no other way to attain their end, then to keep him as much as they could from the Popes eare; But how to compaſs this they knew not, being

they had to deal with very subtil persons.

Finally, after many debates they resolved to make the Pope believe *Panzirolo*'s sickness did not proceed from any indisposition of stomack, but that he was in a Consumption of the Lungs, which being a disease catching, his Holiness would not admit him any more so near him as he was wont, and by that means they should keep him at a distance: The chief Point consisted in telling the Pope, and none could do it but his Physicians, who knowing that *Panzirolo* was not Consumptive, they could not well represent him to be so.

The Physicians *Panzirolo* made use of were the Pope's own, *Mazzella*, *Tacchia*, and others: these they intended to gain, by making them say his

was

was in a Conſumption, but all in vain, becauſe they would not affirm that which was not true.

The Cavalier *Giacovazzi*, who was one of this Combination, abhorring ſuch deceitful proceedings, diſſwaded them from it, bidding them take heed leſt whilſt they ſought to deceive others, they did not cozen themſelves: But they fondly imagining by the downfal of *Panzirolo* to raiſe themſelves, perſiſted ſo long, importuning the Phyſicians, that at laſt having corrupted *Tacchia*, they made him ſay what they pleaſed, and calling *Mazzella*, told him, that *Tacchia* feared that *Panzirolo* was in a Conſumption; wherefore it not being fit in ſuch a doubt to hazard the Popes health, they told him, that he muſt either abſtain from viſiting *Panzirolo*, or for-

bear to appear in the Popes Presence; the Physician not being willing to distast the Cardinal Patron, answered, that he would forbear to visit him for the future: *Panzirolo* immediately sented the Plot, and bemoaning the infelicity of the Court, resolved, that if he recovered, to betake himself to a private life; but these contrivings against him much augmented his distemper.

The Pope enquiring of *Mazzella*, concerniug *Panzirolo*'s health, as he was wont, he answered. *Holy Father I cannot tell, for doubting that he may be in a Consumption, I thought it not convenient to visit him longer, being that I wait upon your Holiness.* The Pope commended his wariness, and believed him, who innocently came out with that which others malice could not force him say, but all this might have bin omit-

omitted, seeing *Panzirolo* never rose more from his bed; for in few days, he not only left the Pope, but the World also.

Panzirolo dissembled his resentment with great Art, without making shew of being any way offended with *Astalli*, persevering in his kindness toward him: but knowing that to keep him in awe, and to fortifie himself against his party, it would be necessary to make some friends, he began to give signes of reconciliation, with the party that opposed *Astalli*, but his sickness increasing by reason of a Fever seizing him, he received the holy Sacraments, & sent to the Pope to ask his absolution for some more private things, for the quieting his conscience, He made his Will by the assistance of *Mascambruno*, possibly to oblige him by this confidence.

He left the Cardinal Nephew a very fair Gold Watch, but bequeathing nothing to the Pope, gave occasion to *Mascambruno* to carp at him to his Holiness in rehearsing his Will; till then, not any one, notwithstanding all the Plotting to suppress him, had dared to open their Mouths against him: nay, not long before he kept his bed, meeting *Mascambruno* in one of the Pope's Chambers, he said to him, *I cannot defend my self from a Pamphlet, which every week telleth me, that you are not my friend, and that you seek to do me an ill turn*; and lifting up his hand, he added, *I do not give credit to it, for I have given you no occasion, but I thought fit to acquaint you*: Whereat *Mascambruno* was at first surprized, but recollecting himself he made large Protestations of his fidelity and obligations

to

to him, with ſo much the greater expreſſions, by how much the leſs reality there was in his heart.

The Pope gave no ſign of diſlike at his Will, but expreſs'd great affection for him. *Panzirolo* lived after he had made his Will fifteen days; in which time his ſickneſs being ſomwhat abated, the Pope gave order to the Cardinal Nephew to give him a Viſit: upon the ſight of him *Panzirolo* ſaid, *Your Eminency loſeth a good friend, and it grieves me to think you will find it ſo*: and thus turned away, without ſaying any thing more to him; The Cardinal went out much troubled, and ſix days after *Panzirolo* departed this life. He was endued with an admirable Wit, very perſpicacious and ready in all his Actions, of great Prudence, and as great diſ-

simulation; he had an extraordinary franckneſs in his undertaking, which he had occaſion to exerciſe in that Pontificate, from the very firſt day of it to the end of his life, ſtanding the ſhocks of his enemies with a conſtant and even temper: Self-intereſt never defiled his hands; the Pope himſelf was wont to give him that teſtimony, having known and tried him for the ſpace of 40 years; and in his Pontificate he could never prevail with him (though he commanded him) to accept of the Archbiſhoprick of *Salisbury*, a [illegible] which he would have preſented him. He returned from *Spain* in a time, when if *Innocent* had bin dead without providing for him, he would not have had 4000 Crowns a year Patrimonial and Eccleſiaſtical eſtate.

The

The Pope coming out of the Conclave, and willing to recompence his good ſervice done him in that and other occaſions, offered him an Abbatie of 1500 Crowns a year, quitted by his Holineſs, but he intreated him to confer it upon Cardinal *Rapacciolo*. Not long after, being ſtill in the ſame ſtate of povertie, and having no better a Preſent then a little Croſlet of Diamonds given him by the Catholick King at the end of his Nunciature, of the value of 6000 Crowns; he gave it to Prince *Camillo Pamphilio* the Popes Nephew, deſiring his Holineſs to command the acceptance, as he did. He did divers other good Offices to ſundry other perſons, (though they were his oppoſites in all occaſions to undo him,) obſerving the *Spaniſh* Proverb, *Gracias per agravios dan los ombres ſavios.*

Notwithstanding, he died in so great hatred and ill opinion of the whole Court, that many did not stick to say, that he had heaped up great treasure, whereas they scarce found to the value of 2000 Crowns in a few Moveables and Plate, he being always most liberal in purchasing the affections of others by Regalio's and Rewards; neither did their calumnies rest here; for they accused him besides to have been a most notorious Hypocrite, so malicious and spiteful are Court-tongues; these things were forged, partly by his own enemies, partly by the dependents of the Cardinal Nephew, and by the Favourites of *Donna Olimpia*, all of them conspiring his ruine as the only obstacle to their designe. Finally, he having enjoyed so great an Authority near so great a Po-

a Potentate, by conſequence he had incurred the hatred of all thoſe that had not obtained favours from him, as if by his fault they had not been looked upon according to their merit; The Jealouſies likewiſe of thoſe who conſidered *Panzirolo* as a Perſon qualified to ſucceed *Innocent*, and of Parts to manage his intereſt, cauſed continual murmurings and backbitings againſt him, for ill Offices done in *Spain*, ſlandering him in the Court to render him odious to all men.

The Pope underſtanding that *Panzirolo* was paſt Recovery, he began to think whom he might truſt with ſo nice an Employment, and of ſo main importance as that of Secretary of State, he ſent for Father *Virgilio Spada* of the Congregation of St. *Philippo Neri*, commonly called *Oratorians*, and bid him intimate

mate to the Cardinal his Brother, that he ſhould come that very day and demand audience, becauſe he deſired next morning to have ſome diſcourſe with him; and he uſed this formal way, leſt if it ſhould be taken notice of that he ſent for him, it might be ſuſpected, that his Calling for was to adviſe about ſome ſuch like Affair.

The Cardinal having received the Meſſage, ſent preſently to demand audience, which was accordingly appointed the next Morning. But *Spada*, ſuppoſing himſelf obliged in point of Civility, to acquaint the Cardinal Nephew with it, he ſent him word that the Pope had called for him, and he ſuppoſed it was to diſcourſe about the Office of Secretary of State, and therefore he thought it his duty to let him know it.

The

The Cardinal returned him thanks for communicating this so freely to him, and sent him word by *Dominico Giacovazzi*, that he was of the same opinion, and intreated him to use his interest that it might be conferred upon *Monsignor Gaetano*; and if his Holiness had no inclination for him, that then he would mention *Monsignor Azzolino*; it was thought that his aim was to set up a Person whom he might pull down at his pleasure. *Spada* did not conceive this a proper way to bring the Pope to their bent, because he being of a very jealous and diffident nature, he was to be handled so, as not to give him the least umbrage, he resolved therefore to make an Alphabetical List of 14 fit for that employment, amongst whom putting the two mentioned persons, he might afterwards act according as he found the Pope inclined.

Having

Having compleated his List he ſent to *Giacovazzi*, deſiring to ſpeak two or three words with him before he went to the Palace, and therefore deſired him to meet him the next Morning at ten a Clock at St. *Andrews*, the Noviciate Church of the Jeſuits; *Aſtalli* making reflection on what he had ſaid to *Spada* the day before, and judging likewiſe the way he had propoſed not ſo proper, he bid *Giacovazzi* tell *Spada*, that concerning the manner, he referr'd it wholly to his Prudence, only he deſired him to act ſo, that if they could obtain no more, at leaſt to hinder the placing it upon any Cardinal except it were himſelf, which he ſhould be exceedingly well-pleaſed with.

The Conference with *Giacovazzi* followed with the ſatisfaction of both parties; *Spada* had

had Audience of the Pope, who entring into diſcourſe of *Panzirolo's* death, and of the neceſſity of providing an able perſon to ſucceed him, not making any reckoning whether he were a Cardinal or no.

He deſired to know his opinion of Monſignor *Chigi*, then Nuncio at *Munſter*, upon whom he ſeemed to have fixed his reſolution.

Cardinal *Spada*, a very competent Judge by reaſon of the great knowledge which he had in the Court, and experience in all matters of difficulty, and particularly in the choice of ſuch as were fit for the moſt conſpicuous Offices, anſwered, that his Holineſs amongſt all the good had made choice of the beſt, and therefore he could not but approve of his Election; But becauſe *Chigi* was then abſent, and

that

that ſome months would be paſt before he could come to *Rome*; it was requiſite in the interim to have a Subſtitute. The Pope asked *Spada* his opinion in this alſo; who anſwered, that at the death of *Monſignor Azzolino*, Secretary of State to *Urban* the eighth, Cardinal *Ceva* then Nuncio in *France*, being elected to ſucceed him, his place was in the mean-while ſupplied by *Peter Beneſſa*, the firſt Minutant: wherefore *Monſignor Azzolino*, a young man, well verſed in buſineſs, and having a good Pen, might ſerve till *Chigi*'s arrivall.

The Pope ſeemed well ſatisfied with the Perſon propoſed, and ſaid he had been well ſerved by him, and therefore he approved of the Councel, and the rather becauſe he would not have *Aſtalli*, nor any other know his intention for *Chigi*, and that very day he gave order that *Azzolini*

zolino ſhould put on the Veſt of Chamberlain, as he did, and not many days after finding himſelf better, he went to kiſs the Popes foot, and return his thanks, who then told him his mind of calling *Chigi*, and commanded him to write to him to make haſte to *Rome*, without giving notice to any, which coming to *Aſtalli*'s hearing, he was a little ſuſpicious of the Popes confidence in him.

Azzolino ruminating in himſelf, that having been of *Panzirolo*'s party, he could not expect any ſupport from thoſe which at preſent were prevalent with the Pope, and reflecting further, that *Panzirolo* being dead, *Donna Olympia* would be quickly reſtored to her priſtine grace, he adviſedly reſolv'd to put himſelf under her protection, by means of her Phycian *Tiraconda*, who had attended on him in his ſhort ſickneſs,

he

he ſent her word, that Cardinal *Panzirolo* being dead, he had no dependence on any but his Holineſs, and therefore deſired that ſhe would be pleaſed to conſider him as her creature, and make uſe of him on all occaſions, promiſing her his obſervance with fidelity.

Donna Olympia much rejoyced at this obſequiouſneſs, in a time when all did ſhun and forſake her, preſently ſtruck up a correſpondence with him, and made uſe of him in many things of great concernment.

Having thus made ſure of *Donna Olympia*, he ſought next to gain Cardinal *Aſtalli*, at leaſt ſo far that he might not be his Enemie: and therefore as he uſed all means to oblige *Donna Olympia*, ſo did he endeavour by all ways in publick to keep fair with the Cardinal, honouring him

him with those flattering Addresses which are usually practised by disinteress'd men.

By the death of *Panzirolo*, the Office of Secretarie of the Briefs, of about 6000 Crowns yearly value became also vacant: *Astalli* had asked it for *Monsignor Gaetano*: His Holiness answered, *He would think on it*: a Phrase he was accustomed to use when he intended to deny any thing: but *Gaetano* and his friends, pressing the Cardinal to importune the Pope more earnestly, and to begin to carry himself as Padrone, they prevailed with him to hazard (without acquainting the Pope any more) the ordering *Gualtieri* Substitute in the same Office, to dispatch the Brief for *Gaetano*, *Gualtieri* went to the Pope, and acquainted him with the Order he had received.

His Holiness stood somewhat asto-

astonished, asking him, who gave him that Order? the other telling him what had passed, the Pope remained a good while musing, and scratching his chin, at length overcome with the opinion that it was necessary to countenance the Cardinal, he gave his consent that the Brief should be dispatched.

Mascambruno shewed himself much offended at this, having pretended to that Office himself, and had great hopes of obtaining it.

Prince *Pamfilio* who before had joyned with *Astalli* to pull down *Panzirolo*, now that feare being over, he returned to his former thoughts, of humbling him also, not liking to see him so much in the Popes favour, and in that Eminent dignity. *Gaetano* growing jealous of *Mascambruno* knowing him to be a man of intrigues, and the Cardinal Nephew, fear-

fearing he might do him likewiſe ſome diſſervice with the Pope, they both joyned together to bring him into diſgrace.

Aſtalli's chief diſpleaſure againſt *Maſcambruno*, was upon the ſuppoſition that he was the promoter of Prince *Pamfilio*'s intereſt; wherefore he intending to exclude all from the Popes favour, that he might remaine the abſolute director of affaires: and fearing that if *Maſcambruno* ſhould be created Cardinal, he might come to be ſupplanted by him; he reſolved to ruine him firſt.

To effect this, he met with no great difficultie, knowing how many crimes *Maſcambruno* had committed in the Datary's office, as altering of Regiſters and Memorials to acquie gain and

and particularly, in the case of a certain *Portuguese*, questioned by the Inquisition of *Lisbon*: And although the *Datary* himself Cardinal *Cecchino* had often given the Pope notice of it; yet he could never make his Holiness lose the good opinion he had of the *Sub-Datary*; who supposing them to be nothing but Arts and Inventions to put him out of his place, he would never give ear to *Cecchino*, saying it could not be true, and that he would hear no more of it, so that no body durst venture to mention it. At last they found the Expedient, to make use of Father *Braudano* a Jesuit, Assistant for *Portugal*, (who having paid a considerable summe to *Mascambruno* for the fore-mentioned *Portuguese*, could neither get the Brief nor his money again) that he by bringing in his Complaint

plaint might make way for all the reſt.

The Jeſuit went ſeveral times to ask Audience, but was always repuls'd by *Monſignor Centofiorini* Maſter of the Popes Chamber, wholly depending upon the Houſe of *Pamfilio*.

It hapned, that in the occaſion of ſome *Portugueſe* Jeſuits going to kiſs the Pope's foot, he beſtirred himſelf, ſo that he crowded in amongſt them, and told the Pope all that he knew concerning *Maſcambruno*.

The Pope was attentive to all, but ſeemed to give little credit to it, ſaying, it could not be true, and perſiſted ſtill in his reſolution to make him Cardinal, ſo that every body held for certain his Preferment.

Maſcambruno hearing the clamours againſt him in the Palace, and being in apprehenſion of

of none but the Cardinal Patron, he beſought the Princeſs of *Roſſano* to beg of him to ceaſe his perſecution, and to pardon him if in any thing he had offended him; the Princeſs was very zealous in his behalf, and *Aſtalli* was ſatisfied: *Maſcambruno* going to give him thanks, and offer his ſervice to him; the Cardinal told him what was paſt was paſt and forgotten, and that he would become his friend, but bade him take heed of truſting any one, for that his Affair was ſo far advanced, that he doubted it was too late to prevent it.

Maſcambruno replyed, that he feared no man, ſo his Eminency did not act againſt him; and his confidence was ſo great, that believing they gave him theſe apprehenſions to make him leave *Rome*, he went on ſolliciting for the Cardinalſhip, and made

a good progreſs in it.

Dominico Giacovazzi an intimate ſervant and Councellour of the Cardinals, foreſeeing that the exaltation of *Maſcambruno*, would be the deſtruction of *Aſtalli*, and himſelf too, perſwaded him with efficacious reaſons not to delay any longer to diſcover *Maſcambruno*'s tailings, and hinder his promotion; He repreſented to him, that in weighty affaires it was lawful to break ones word, if the keeping it would prove obſtructive.

The Cardinal approved *Giacoviazzi's* councel, ſpoke to the Pope, and ſhewed him the Regiſters falſified, and therewith ſo diſtracted him, that he put off holding the Conſiſtory for that time, and appointed *Maſcambruno*'s impriſonment.

which was done accordingly, he being attached in the very Datary, and carried away to the *Torre di Nona*; his Proceſs was made, and being found guilty, he was beheaded a few days after, his Complices and others that ſuſpected themſelves to be accounted ſo, ſome abſconded, the reſt fled from *Rome*.

Thus *Maſcambruno* in the very nick of being exalted to the Scarlet-Robe, was thrown headlong into the depth of miſeries; a Document to all Pretenders in Courts, not to truſt too much to fortune, nor to relie too much on their own induſtry and ability, when they are not grounded upon honeſt and vertuous principles.

But the Pope, although for ſatisfaction of Juſtice, and Reputation of the Apoſtolick See, and

and his own honour was well pleaſed with the knowledge of the enormous cheats of *Maſcambruno*, yet he conceived ſome ſuſpition of *Aſtalli*'s ſincerity, it ſeeming ſomewhat ſtrange that he had not acquainted him ſooner with *Maſcambruno*'s villany: but the Cardinal defended himſelf with this excuſe, that wanting ſufficient proofs, he could not ſo ſoon acquaint his Holineſs.

Upon the death of *Maſcambruno*, the Prince and Princeſs *Pamphilio* grew more and more jealous of *Aſtalli*'s greatneſs, and therefore together with their Adherents, they uſed all Arts and Endeavors to put the Pope out of conceit with him; and as *Innocent* had a great tenderneſs for his own family, ſo they made him believe that the Cardinal ſtudied nothing elſe,

but the Advancement of the Houſe of *Aſtalli*; and in no way that of *Pamphilio*, as his Holineſs imagined. His Rivals accuſed him, that he was ſo greedy of money, that he extorted even from the very Suitors for Benefices.

The Popes mind appeared much diſturbed at theſe diviſions; on the one ſide he was not fully ſatisfied with the Cardinal; and on the other he could not comply with the Prince his imaginations; beginning therefore to perceive of what prejudice the abſence of his Siſter-in-law was to his family, in whom he had experienced a more entire affection, and more ſolid judgement then in any other; and his diſpleaſure againſt her being in a great meaſure mitigated, and *Panzirolo* gone, who only was able to keep him firm

to

to his former reſolutions, his mind relenting, he allowed himſelf to be wrought upon for her return.

But he had a deſire it ſhould be brought to paſs, with an entire ſatisfaction of all Parties, a thing very difficult, if not impoſſible, to unite two ambitious ſpirits.

After the death of *Maſcambruno*, *Aſtalli* remaining ſolely about the Pope, had a large Field to eſtabliſh himſelf in his Holineſs's favour, if he had known how to bring under his private paſſions to his publick Concerns, and had uſed that dexterity and prudence, with which *Panzirolo* had ſo happily managed the Affairs; but mens Ambition often darkens the light of their Underſtanding; and runs their Fortune on unſeen Precipices.

The first Sign of this was the promoting of *Girolamo Bertuci* the antient steward of his house, to *Mascambruno*'s office of sub-Datary, this man was held to be a great confident of *Donna Olympia's*, and who in the time of her disgrace was the sole person that took her part, and had spoken often to the Pope in her behalfe.

In the meane time followed the displaceing of *Cecchino* from his office of Datarie, who voluntarily quitted it, as also of Monsignor *Farnese* from that of Governour of *Rome*, it was said by meanes of Cardinal *Astalli* (at a time, when the merits of *Farnese* and the precedent good services of *Panzirolo*, had brought him but a few weeks before, very neare the being made Cardinal or Nuncio into *Spain*) who substituted

ſubſtituted *Bertuci* under-Datary to the firſt place, and Monſignor *Imperiale* to the Government of *Rome*. On the other ſide *Donna Olympia* ſent to the Pope to beg the office of Secretary of the Briefs, for *Azzolino* which became void by the promotion of Monſignor *Nerli* to the Arch-Biſhoprick of *Florence*.

The Pope anſwered that he ſhould heap too many places upon one perſon, for *Azzolino* ſupplied that of Secretary of ſtate, Secretary of the Ciphers, and a few months before he was choſen Secretary of the ſacred Colledge, and if this alſo ſhould be conferred upon him, it would ſeem as if his Holineſs had but one able perſon to ſerve him; nevertheleſs, the neceſſity being urgent, and the Pope being willing to pleaſure his ſiſter-in-law

he

He gave Order that he ſhould exerciſe that Office in the interim, intending to provide another for the future; but afterwards, being fully ſatisfied with *Azzolino*, in a certain diſpatch of ſome Briefs ſent into *France* upon the account of Cardinal *de Retz*, he gave him the propriety of it, and he enjoyed it till the death of the Pope.

In the mean-while the Affair went on for the return of *Donna Olympia*, his Holineſs knowing her to be very fit for a Governeſs of a Houſe, ſhe being a woman of a great and nimble ſpirit: and in the Month of *March* 1653. ſhe was admitted for the firſt time to kiſs his foot, and afterward by degrees to the ſame freedom as formerly, cauſing her to go in company with her Daughter-in-law, and her Siſter, Nuns in the

the Monaſtery of *Torre de Specchi*.

The Pope told her, that ſhe ought not to hold her ſelf obliged to any one for her return to Court, nor give credit to any that ſhould pretend that they had done any great matters in that buſineſs, for he of himſelf had ſpontaneouſly recalled her, without the perſwaſion of any body: However *Donna Olympia* kept a fair correſpondence with Cardinal *Aſtalli*, at leaſt outwardly, if not really, and ſeemed to do her utmoſt to uphold him, believing him to be not only very uſeful to the Pope, but alſo advantageous to her ſelf, and to all thoſe who had dependance on her.

Yet not much time paſſed before *Aſtalli* diſcovered thoſe ſuſpicions and jealouſies which he conceived of the Authority

of *Donna Olympia*, seeing her returned to *Rome*, and setled in the government of the Popes own family and though many of his friends councelled him to make advantage of that conjuncture, keeping her well affected to him by flattering and caressing her: that she might do him and his dependants service.

But he not enduring to suffer the Dominering Authority which she arogated wholly to her self, made no use of this good admonishment, but rather grew jealous of those who gave it, and although this was contrary, not only to the supposed will, but expres Declaration of the Pope, who had commanded him to keep Amity with those of his Family; yet he never could forbear still to shewa distrust of her, complaining of such friends of his, who had too frequent converse with her, which the Pope take-

takeing notice of, grew more cold in his affection towards him, and more zealous for his ſiſter.

Not long before Cardinal *Charles Medici*, was come to *Rome*, who by reaſon of his relation with the Princeſs *Roſſano*, and the amity betwixt Prince *Don Camillo*, and the great Duke. *Aſtalli*, feared that he would intereſt himſelf for the Prince, becauſe that in his firſt Audience of the Pope, he enlarged himſelf much in his praiſes, from whence *Aſtalli*'s jealouſy increaſing, he began to raiſe diffidences between the Pope, and *Medici*, inſinuating to his Holineſs how that he was come to *Rome*, to Treat in the very Face of him, about making *Cechino* his knowa enemy, his ſucceſſor, inculcating alſo that *Medici* with the *Spaniard*, ſought by all means to draw the *Barbarins* to their faction, which

which seemed probable by some demonstrations of kindness, which the Cardinal *Cesis* and *Mont Alto* used more then ordinary, to Cardinal *Barbarine*, even in the Consistory in the Popes view.

Donna Olympia out of her singular prudence, had from the begining perswaded the Pope, to make a friendship with the house of *Barbarine*, and although for the interest of the house of *Pamphilia*, his Holiness could not finde it otherwise then very convenient, notwithstanding for the former ingagements, and his slow wary nature; there was little to be hoped for in an affair clog'd with so many difficluties, without some extraordinary accident, which should compel him to proceed with more quickness and resoluteness.

The effect which these suggestions against the *Spaniards* and

and *Florentines*, brought forth, was this, his Holineſs, being poſſeſſed that theſe ſought to draw the *Barbarines* to their party againſt his faction, he being aware, reſolved to prevent them by his one uniting with *Barbarine*, wherefore *Donna Olympia* having a daughter of Prince *Juſtinians* educated by her, he imagined by marrying her to one of *Barbarins* Nephews, to eſtabliſh by that affinity a *Conjunction perpetual* between both families: to this effect Cardinal *Rapaccioli* being employed on the part of the *Barbarins*, and *Donna Olympia* for the Pope, though many difficulties did ariſe, yet at length by the refined underſtanding of his Holineſs, they were all overcom, and the Marriage concluded between the ſaid Lady and *Don Maffeo Barbarine* then an Abbot.

And

and afterwards Prince of *Palestrino*.

The satisfactions which his sanctitygave to the *Barbarins* was this, that the Prince Prefect (who becauſe his Genius inclined him to an Eccleſiaſtical life, renounced to the Abbot his brother, the Primo-Geniture of his family) ſhould have all the Church-benefices, which *Don Maffeo* enjoyed, that the ſaid Prefect ſhould be created Cardinal, and withal retaine the Prefectſhip of *Rome*, that the *Barbarines* ſhould be reimburſ'd of the great impoſitions laid upon them in their Cameral cauſes that the money ſhould be reſtored for ſome edifices ſold by them to the Marqueſs *Ricardi* the *Florentine*-Embaſſador, and that a Cardinal ſhould be made at the appoyntment of *Barbarine*, which was afterwards fulfilled in the

the promotion of *John Baptiſta Spada*, intituled St. *Suſanna* a favour uſually granted by Popes, to the family, of which they receaved their Capp, as *Innocent* from that of *Barberine*, his Holineſs had done this long before if the former differences had not happened.

ThePope declared that by this marriage he intended a perfect union between the two families, and that the two factions of Cardinals depending on each, ſhould be joyned in one body. And if the Pope had not been deceived by thoſe who leaſt ought to have done it, he had undoubtedly made him very formidable and of great eſteeme with thoſe Princes who had dependence on the Romane Court, and both the one and the other family would have received great advantage by this Alliance. The

The Espousals were publickly Celebrated in the Popes Chappel, with universal Applause of the People, and the Pope in this Ceremony caused the Altar to be adorned with that rich and sumptuous furniture, given heretofore to the Holy See by a King of *Portugal*, which the *Spaniards* took in great dudgeon.

This business wounded the minde of Prince *Ludovisio*, who having married one of the House of *Pamphilio*, chiefly with design to ruine the *Barbarins*, could by no means brook, that after the revenge they had taken of him by the Warr of *Piombino* and *Portolongone*, they should also come to reap greater advantages from the Pope, then he himself could ever attain.

But above all, Cardinal *Astalli* was highly vex'd at this Marri-

age,

age, becauſe he had not part in it, complaining that the Pope had uſed him with little reſpect; for having been wholly ignorant of the matter whilſt it was in Agitation, he had confidently declared to ſome intimate friends, that it could not be, by reaſon he knew nothing of it, and perceiving moreover, that the Pope endeavored to unite the two Factions of *Pamphilio* and *Barbarini*, he feared it would prove a leſſening of his Authority, and take from him the means of being ſole Head.

And although many wiſe men repreſented to him, that this was advantageous, becauſe beſide his own Faction, he ſhould have a great ſtroke in that of the *Barbarins*, which being compoſed of many old men, it would be eaſie to gain them, by giving every one of them hopes. Nevertheleſs, either

either becauſe he ſtood in awe of the name of *Barbarin*, or that he feared that Cardinal *Franciſco*, by his wit and parts would turn and wind him every way and make uſe of him for his own turne only, without letting him have any ſhare of the Government: he began openly to diſcloſe his mind, complaining of the Pope to Monſignor *Bertusi*, under-*Datary*, (in whom his Holineſs had great confidence and was a man, by common repute that could keep nothing ſecret) telling him that the Pope had done him wrong to Treat him in that manner, and not make him acquainted before with that Marriage, and the like.

The *Spaniards*, *Florentines*, and Prince *Lodoviſio*, were aſſured, that the Prince *Don Camillo*, after

ter the death of his Unckle would joyne with the *Spaniard*, who had bin very gratefull for his good ſervices to that Crown, wherefore they determined to make a contrary league to that of the Popes, whereby to ſpoile his deſign, they therefore ſollicited each other to ſtick cloſe together hoping that after his Holineſſes his death, being intirely united, with the adherence of Prince *Ludoviſio*, and by conſequence of all the Relations of the Pope: (from which ſide none of his creatures that had anything of gratitude would depart, and thoſe who for intereſt, or other reaſons had no kindneſs for his Memory would eaſilybe gained.) The *Barbarins*, and *Donna Olympia*, would remain excluded, and the Popes deſign fruſtrated, which unleſs it were prevented, the

the union of his Creatures premeditated by him, would ruine them all, with *Astalli* himself who was their Head, who also began openly to close with Cardinal *Trivultio*, (residing then in *Rome* as *Spanish* Embassadour and with the Embassadour of *Florence*, and all others of that side.

But for all this the Pope continued his kindness for the *Barbarins*, and his resolution to establish that perfect Union between the two Families, which might redound to both their benefits.

Donna Olympia, by reason of her good Government, advanced daily in credit and esteem with the Pope and all the Court, for she having been the chief Instrument in this Match, which his Holiness esteemed the greatest good fortune that could happen

happen to his family, he began to think that ſhe was more zealous for the advancement of it then any other. On the contrary *Lodoviſio* and *Aſtalli* loſt ground, and leſſened daily in the Popes eſteem. The latter bearing a perfect hatred to the party of the *Barbarins* and to *Donna Olympia*, began (without conſidering, that to draw upon himſelf, the ill will of thoſe, who then were in immediate credit with the Pope, was to ruine him utterly) to ſhew an open diffidence of all thoſe who profeſſed to have any dependance upon her, or the *Barbarins*, and in particular of *Monſignor Azzolino*.

This man being often by the Popes order, employed to treat with *Donna Olympia*, and profeſſing an ancient obligation to the houſe of *Barbarine*, had therby

thereby fair opportunity to manifeſt his ſence, which he profeſſed to be wholly conformed to that of his Holineſs,) and the Devoir of his gratitude.

To this accrued, that before the Marriage was publiſhed, the Pope called for Monſignor *Azzolino*, and privately without imparting it to Cardinal *Aſtalli*, cauſed him to make a draught of the heads of the letter to be imparted to his Miniſters, reſiding with forreign Princes, of his purpoſe, touching the marriage, And in many things of like nature, he made immediate uſe of him, without participating them to the Cardinal who for theſe reaſons began to profeſs himſelf his open enemy.

Azzolino endeavoured for a while to demonſtrate to the Cardinal, the conveniences of ſerving

lerving the Pope and none elſe, minding him that he was made Cardinal by the houſe of *Pamphilio*, and that thoſe who ſerved him in that Notion, would be obliged by the ſame rule that bound them to ſerve him, as miniſter of the Popes will and pleaſure, to be adverſe to him if he acted contrary to his Holineſs's intentions, on the other ſide he intimated how profitable it would be to him, to conform himſelf to the Popes humour, making uſe of that credit and eſteem for himſelf and his friends, which he had acquired with the Pope.

Donna Olympia, who had a Neece of hers married to the Marqueſs, his brother, would have joyned with him more willingly then with any, But *Aſtalli*, thinking that the friendly proteſtations of *Azzolino* were

were feined and artificial, (as is usual among Courtiers,) the better to deceive and delude him) nor being able to perswade himself that *Donna Olympia* could ever love him, in the quality of Cardinal Nephew; depriving her self of that honour and profit, which did properly belong unto her, as she was so neerly related to the Pope, and being a woman of that mettle, not to lose an inch of her value and interest, the endeavours of *Azzolin* were sinisterly interpreted and proved fruitless.

Donna Olympia being informed of all, entreated the Marques of *Astalli* to keep his Brother fast to the Pop s interest, and to exhort him to a good correspondence, and that for the kindness she had for him, she should ever study the advancement of his Family, with that sincerity which

which her alliance to them obliged her to.

But *Astalli* doubting that he could not do it without too much debasing himself and prejudice to his own interest, he went on delaying in hopes of a more favourable conjuncture.

Bertuci in the meane while told the Pope of the complaints made to him by *Astalli*, that the treaty of the Marriage was not revealed to him.

The Pope was highly incensed, and broke out into open passion against him; commanding him, by *Bertuci*, to retire to his own house, and that he should stay no longer in the Pallace. But this heat was moderated by *Donna Olympia* chooſing rather that *Astalli* who after his so great revenues and riches should continue still near his Holyness, then by being laid aside, should

make roome for the succession of some other, of greater credit and prudence. She represented to the Pope how much the world would admire at this unexpected determination, besides the loss of all that had been bestowed on him; wherefore she perswaded him to bear with him and keep him humbled, and save the expence of setting up another, whose advancement would lessen the utility of his own kindred.

Others also whom his Holliness discours'd with, about *Astalli*, gave him the same councel, and amongst the rest Cardinal *Chigi*, who was returned from *Germany* and advanced to the scarlet.

Bertuci was of the same opinion, and also *Azzolino*, who notwithstanding the hatred which *Astalli* bore him, did so earnestly plead for him, that the Pope verily beleeving that he

did it for his own private interest, complained of him to *Donna Olympia*, saying that of all he had spoken with he had found none so concerned for *Astalli* as he. Whereupon she growing suspicious of him, incensed his Holiness more against him, who declared the next day that he would dispose of the place of Secretary of the Briefs to another.

Azzolino, though he knew all, dissembled the matter, and went next Morning to tender his thanks to her, for her protection, and to complain of the ill Offices which were done him humbly supplicating her to mitigate the Popes anger, and took occasion to be that very day at the Pallace, and had the good fortune to entertain his Holiness a great while, leaving him fully satisfied

for what concerned himself; doing alſo ſome good offices for *Donna Olympia*.

The Pope finding that *Azzolino* did not really depend on *Aſtalli*, and that what he had ſaid in his behalfe, was in reſpect of the degree in which his holyneſs had placed him, which whil'ſt he enjoyed, all, even his moſt bitter enemies were obliged to obſerve and court him, he ſignified to him that he ſhould henceforth attend in no Anti-chamber but his own, nor be any more about *Aſtalli*, (for *Azzolino* after the death of *Panzirolo*, was wont to accompany him every evening when he went to audience) and this meſſage he made *Aſtalli* deliver himſelf, the more to humble him. But nevertheleſs *Azzolino* continued ſtill his good offices with *Donna Olympia* for *Aſtalli*, hoping

hoping at laſt, meer neceſſity would teach him the way he ought to take, and that he would learn at his own coſt, by reaſon of the great danger he incurred ſome few dayes before, of being turned out of the Palace. But as often-times ſuſpicion deceives men more then the deed it ſelf, the Cardinal proceeded in his wonted courſe, and and ſeeing that the Pope had revoked his purpoſe of baniſhing him the Palace, he argued with himſelf that this proceeded not from the good Offices of *Donna Olympia* and the reſt; but on the contrary, that they had done what poſſibly they could againſt him; and that the Pope could not be brought to any reſolution by reaſon of the engagement in which he had involved himſelf; he thought alſo that the ſame reaſons would

ſtill keep him from doing any ſuch thing for the time to come, and pleaſed himſelf with a vain fancy that at the death of *Innocent*, he ſhould be found in the Pallace Cardinal of the Houſe of *Pamfilio*, followed by ſo many creatures that would empower him to make a Pope at his pleaſure. And diſpairing on the other ſide of regaining the Popes favour, he thought to ſtrengthen himſelf with a contrary Party; Whereupon *Azzolino*, (who though he had order not to conferre any more with the ſaid Cardinal, had gone to him every every week to ſubſcribe the Letters of the Secretaries Office, and had held many ſerious diſcourſes with him, to induce him to keep in with the Pope) proteſted to the Marqueſs *Aſtalli*, that he would no longer prevaricate with *Donna*

Olym-

Olympia, as he had hitherto done that whileſt there was any hopes of the Cardinals complyance he had made *Donna Olympia* believe, tha the was her good friend; but that now ſeeing the caſe deſperate, he would have neither the Pope, nor *Donna Olympia* Mocked, upon his account; and therefore he declar'd this to him for the friendſhip & eſteem which he had for their family, and perſons, towards whom he ever had a very particular devotion.

The Marquiſs ſeemed to take this (in good part) although in his mind he was fully perſwaded that theſe were only tricks to deceive him and his brother, that abandoning the aſſociation, he might be more expoſed for want of friends, to the will *Donna* of *Olympia*, wherefore

fore joyning in a more streight friendship with his Brother and the opposite party, he began to do ill offices with his Mother-in-Law, against *Azzolino*, and joyntly to persecute those whom he held to be friends to the *Barbarins*, and *Donna Olympia*.

Azzolino who had learn'd from *Panzirolo* the Maxims how to carry himself in like occasions, made use of those means, which are proper to countermine the working of those busie spirits at Court, who are suddenly puff'd up with the least fair countenance of their Master.

The Pope having revoked Monsignor *Gaetan* (Nuncio) from *Spain*, and wanting an able Minister to sweeten the bitterness in that Court, upon the Marriage with the house of *Barbarin*, he sent thither Monsignor *de Massimi*, a Roman, Clerk of the

the Chamber to ſupply that place.

The oppoſite party were very much netled at this Miſſion, and beſtirred themſelves ſo, that he was not received in *Spain*, the chief reaſon was, becauſe this Prelate was moſt intimate with the *Barbarins*, thought it was alledged that the Pope, before he ſent him, had not given notice to the Catholike Court, according to the wonted cuſtom.

At the departing of this Nuncio the Cardinal Nephew delivered two Packets of Letters ſealed, the one for *John Carlo Camelli*, Auditor of the Nunciature, and the other for *Franceſco, Steffanoni, Fiſcal.* In theſe Packets he ſent to each of them a cipher of ſecret correſpondence, in ſtead of the other which had been conſigned to them by the Popes Secretary.

It was thought, that the Cardinals deſigne was principally to exclude *Azzolino* from the office of Secretary of the ciphers, holding him untruſty, a feined friend, and one that diſcloſed every thing to *Donna Olympia*; As alſo to conceale from his Holineſs what he thought not convenient to be imparted to him.

The buſineſs was diſcovered by *Azzolino*, who ſtood irreſolute many dayes what to do; He conſidered on the one ſide their end of depriveing him of that place of truſt and confidence which the Pope had repoſed in him for many years, which if they obtained, his reputation and fortune would be utterly ruined; On the other ſide, he feared that if he ſhould declare himſelf injured by him who was the head of the *Pamfilian* faction, he ſhould hazzard his being farthe

ther advanced by the Pope, who would not promote thoſe who were averſe to the Head of his Party: He conſidered moreover, that the Pope having committed to his Truſt the Key of Secrecy, and he being accountable by the Duty of his Office, he could not let it be taken out of his hands, and given to another that was not particularly nominated by his Holineſs, without incurring the blame of an unfaithful Miniſter.

Wherefore having communicated all to *Donna Olympia*, and it being agreed on between them what courſe to take to humble the Cardinal Nephew. The 20. of *January* 1654. in the Evening, going to the Pope about other Affairs, as he was wont to do, he revealed unto him all that had paſſed about the Cipher, adding that if it was done by his Holineſ

order he did not prejudice any by telling it. But if it was clandestine he had been a traitor not to disclose it. The Pope being much astonished and in great indignation at such proceeding, sent to several Prelates who were wont to Court the Cardinal Nephew, not to come neare him nor hold him in any account, declaring withall that he would not turn him out of the Pallace, not to make as he said, Town-talk of it, but that he would bring him so low, that he should be as if he were not. Cardinal *Chigi* endeavoured to appease the Pope's wrath, by speaking in the behalf of *Astalli*; but his Holiness although he favourably heard him, said, the Dye is cast, we can beare no longer.

Monsignor *Azzolino*, the second of *February*, in the evening, represented

repreſented to the Pope, that if the Cardinal Nephew continued in that poſture, the Court would alwayes remaine in ſuſpence that he might return into favour againe, and therefore no body would dare to diſguſt a perſon ſo vindicative, and who had declared that if he could do no good he wanted not power to miſchief whom he pleaſed.

And beſides, after the death of his Holineſs, he in no other manner publiſhing his will, That of his confederates would be obſerved, who joyning with him would unite the faction of his Holineſs under this head, who for the freſh injuries would make uſe of their authority to the diſgrace of the memory and bloud of *Pamphilio*, ſo that to keep him ſtill in the Palace, was to cheriſh a Serpent in his boſome:

To

To these reasons of *Azzolin* were added, as was surmised, the suggestions of *Donna Olympia*. And moreover, the Pope himself that very Candelmass-day, seeing him appear before him in the Chappel very sad and cast down, thereby to move him to compassion; and hearing when he was out of his sight, that he was very jolly and jocund, was farther incens'd against him, and resolved next morning, being the third of *February* to send the Bishop of *Sirena* his Ghostly Father to him, to command him to leave the Palace, and to go to *Sambuco* in his Brothers *Marquisate*, offering him a Bishoprick in the Ecclestastical State, which he refused to accept of; excusing himself that he had no calling for it. In obedience to the Pope, he went that evening to *Sambuco*, accompanyed by Monsignor *Giacomo Tassis*. And understanding afterwards

wards the Popes complaint touching the Cipher; he ſent Monſignor *Taſſis*, to deliver the counter cipher to Cardinal *Chigi*: Secretary of State, ſaying, it was all true, but that he had altered the cipher becauſe he could no longer confide in *Azzolino*, his open enemy, who did nothing elſe but lay ſnares to entrap him.

The Cardinal continued in *Sambuca*, holding ſtrict correſpondency with the *Spaniards*, *Florentines*, Prince *Ludoviſio* and *Pamfilio*, whence the Pope took occaſion to deprive them of their offices, and penſions, and to baniſh them *Rome*.

Every one afterwards exclaiming againſt *Aſtalli* fallen, and his very friends abandoning him, they began to accuſe him of many miſdemeanors, and in particular, that he had cauſed the walls of the Pallace to be broken for his more convenient iſſuing

out in the Night; for which an indictement was begun to be drawn up againſt him, but afterwards proceeded no further for want of ſufficient proof.

The Pope doubting that after his death Prince *Don Camillo*, might re-adopt him, he iſſued forth a penal Brief, depriving him of his whole inheritance in caſe he did any ſuch thing.

But this caution was held ſuperfluous, by reaſon it was well known that *Don Camillo* ſhewed himſelf a friend to *Aſtalli*, only becauſe he knew that thereby he pleaſed the *Spaniards* and *Florentines*; for otherwiſe he hated him mortally as experience afterwards manifeſted.

The Pope deprived him alſo of the Sur-name of *Pamfilio*, and of all other Favors conferred on him, and of the greateſt part of his Eccleſiaſtical revenues, leaving

ing him not above 6000 Crowns a year. He tooke from him beſides about 60000 Crowns in caſh.

His Holineſs reflecting upon the ill ſucceſs in making a ſingle Head of his faction, he reſolved to eſtabliſh another of many honourable perſons united together by mutual friendſhip, who out of a reall ſenſe of gratitude might continue conſtant in their affection for his family.

To this intent the 2. of *March* in the Morning, he conſtituted Nine Cardinals, *Laurence Imperiale* Clerk of the Chamber and Governor of *Rome*. *Gilbert Boromei*, of *Milan*, Secretary of the Conſultations. *John Baptiſta Spada* of *Luca*, *Patriarch* of *Conſtantinople*; *Proſpero Caffarelli*, a Roman, *Auditor*-General of the *Chamber*. *Francis Albici* of *Ceſena Aſſeſſor*, of the Inquiſition,

Octavio

Octavio Aquaviva a *Neapolitan*, Governor of *Viterbo*. *Charles Pio* of *Ferrara* Treasurer-General, *Charles Gualtieri Advocate* for the Poor. And *Decio Azzolino* Secretary of the Briefs of Princes.

The

THE *HISTORY of the Managements of* CARDINAL MAZARINE

Part. III. Lib. II.

WHile the Affaires of *Italy*, and of the Court of *Rome* went on, as hath been said The *English*, and *Hollanders*, equally tired with VVarre, began to reflect upon the incommodities which are often brought upon Nations, by ruptures, proceeding more from

from Ambition, then the right rule of prudence.

The *Hollanders*, who felt the damnage more sensibly, as most exposed to hazards by Sea, where by their trafficking with an immense nnmber of Vessels they enjoy the best part of their livelihood; seriously pondering whether their hostility might tend, set themselves more distinctly to examine the interest of their Countrey.

The Peace was first broken upon the account of rhe murther commited upon the *English* Embassador at the *Hague*, and the Herring-fishing in the *Orcades*, Islands lying in the utmost part of *Scotland*.

The English pretended that the *Hollanders* ought not to fish in those Seas without permission of the Parliament, and paying a considerable tribute for the great

gaine

gaine they made thereby. Where they employ every yeare at least 500 Busses, for nishing all *Europe* with that sort of fish.

To these was added another more pressing motive, arising from the rancor which the *English* bore in their minds by reason of their trading, which they perceived in many places to be much obstructed by the great resort of *Hollanders*, who almost every where ingrossed it to themselvs; And as interest is that cloud which offuscates humane understanding, so the *English* lookt upon that Nation, with an ill eye, which seemed by degrees to put a bridle upon their former Maritime greatnes. Upon this breach happned the reciprocal taking of many vessels, and afterwards that memorable Sea-fight in the *English* Channel, the precedent year, where each party boasted of the

Victory,

Victory, though the Dutch Fleet was forced to retire to their own ſhores, and quit the *Britiſh* Sea.

The *Hollanders*, in this Battel having found by experience that their Souldiers and Sea-men failed in their duty, becauſe they bore not the Standard of the Prince of *Orange*, whom they much loved. They reſolved to make peace upon any terms, ſo that although they might have had the advantage in that War, (by reaſon of the unſetled Governme:nt of the *Engliſh*, diſunited amongſt themſelves) if they had eſpouſed the Kings quarrel, to which thoſe of *Amſterdam*, would in no wiſe agree, fearfull that the King being reſtored by their forces, the Prince of *Orange*, his near Relation ſhould afterwards by his help, and of other Princes his Allies let into his fancy, ſuch

thoughts

thoughts which ambition of making himself greater, might suggest into him: One therefore in the Assembly spake in this maner,

We have, my Lords, *I* know not by what fatality, begun a warr with the *English*, whereby amidst our greatest prosperities we have drawne upon our selves those unlucky influences, which with precipitous shockings are able to dislocate the best setled Government. *I* do not enter upon a discourse whether our consultations have taken the exact measure of conjunctures, and bin poysed with true political Maxims because what is past cannot be amended by repentance. If we would have enjoy'd Peace we should have nourisht war amongst those who emulous and envious of our growing prosperity, are continually plotting to disturb our quiet. Peace is best conserved amidst the discords &

Jarrs

Jarrs of Neighbours, as Roſes amongſt Brambles.

The coveting of Rule polluteth all friendſhip, and deſtroys the memory of all benefits. If we had made it our endeavours to continue thoſe civill broyles in *England*, that Realme would not have been in a condition at preſent to pretend over us that ſuperiority which their wantonneſs, thriving by our negligence has made them fond on. Princes receive greater profit by their Nighbours troubles, then by their tranquillity. But what availeth it to rehearſe thoſe Maximes of which we either have been ignorant or neglected. Wherefore I omit it and come to the point, Whether it be expedient to continue the war, or make Peace. My opinion is, that ſeeing we cannot at preſent continue the War with the *Engliſh*, with-

without notable diſadvantages, we ought by any means to ſue for a Peace.

The ſeven Provinces are encloſed within ſo ſmall a circumference, that out of them there is not ſufficient to feed and cloath the numerous inhabitants, much leſs to ſupply the publick occaſions.

The Quinteſſence of our greatneſs is our Navigation and Traffick; whereby receiving great gain from all parts of the World, by conſequence we gather out of the Riches of our Merchants the treaſure of our Commonwealth. The Warre with *England* puts a ſtop to our Trading, by which the foundation of our Power decays, our Expences increaſe, our Returnes fail, and our loſſes are multiplied. The hope to overthrow the *Engliſh*, as the preſent Af-

fairs ſtand, in my opinion, is deceitful.

England ſeparates our Provinces from *France*, *Africk*, *Italy*, from the *Eaſt*, *South* and *Weſt*. It is moſt opulent, abounding with all things requiſite for the furniſhing of Fleets and Armies, very ſtrong by its ſituation, and can offend others, without endangering it ſelf.

Our Ships exceed theirs in numbers, and ſurpaſs them in agility of ſailing; but the *Engliſh* are ſtronger built veſſels, better furniſhed with Artillery, and better Manned, and can with leſs difficulty recruit, our Countrey being unprovided of moſt neceſſaries, and cannot furniſh it ſelf without much hazard, by reaſon the *Engliſh* with a few Ships may moleſt our Navigation, becauſe unavoidably we muſt paſs through their Sea.

Whence

Whence Traffick decaying, and the people wanting their accuſtomed employment, civil commotions will probably follow; We therefore not being able to maintain long this warre, without the aſſiſtance of other States, to whom we muſt have recourſe, we ſhall not find friends in our adverſity, who will engage in our behalf, without hope of great benefit to recompence their hazard.

Few there are that love our proſperity, it being increaſed to the prejudice of every one, whoſe Territories are adjacent to the Sea; becauſe the Traffick which hath enriched our Provinces hath impoveriſh'd theirs. The hope for aid from the Northern Princes and Republiques is vain, ſeeing that to thoſe our troubles are welcom, our commerce having [illegible] them

by

by taking from them their gains formerly acquired by their Traffick in the *Baltick* ſea).

To think of *France* is as frivolous, as the Councel of thoſe was abſurd, which cauſed us to diſunite our ſelves from that Confederation, and relinquiſh that War which was the nouriſhment of our Glory, and the vital ſpirit of our greatneſs. The *French* have not forgot the diſlike they received, for the Peace concluded by us with the *Spaniard* at *Munſter* ſeparately without them, and therefore they will rejoyce to ſee us repent the treating them in that manner, and that we are intangled in a War with *England*. It is no policie for the *French* in theſe preſent Conjunctures to make the *Engliſh* their enemies, whilſt they wage Warre with *Spain*, and have ſo many diſſa-

tisfied unquiet ſpirits within their own bowels.

The Count *de Servient* a very intruſted Miniſter of the moſt Chriſtian King, is our bitter enemy, continually exclaims againſt us, and makes it appear, That it is for the intereſt of *France* to keep us weakned by our broils, that we may not be able when occaſion ſerves, to ballance the power and vaſt deſigns of that Crown.

The *Spaniards* are ſo low in their Forces and Councels, that they ſtand more in need of help themſelves then to aſſiſt others; and granting, that they were able, we ought to reflect that their friendſhip would be rather for their own ends then our good.

All Kings abhor the liberty of Republikes, out of a ſuppoſition that theſe conſerve no

memorie of benefits done them, nor have any other ſoul then the intereſt of publique freedom. Beleeve me, my Lords, neither *France* nor *Spain* loves our Common wealth, nor the preſent government of *England*; and to contend amongſt our ſelves, is only to ſhew them the ſport they with for, and regale them with the Triumph of our diſaſters. But where do we leave the *Portugueſe*, who rejoycing at theſe our engagements, have perhaps by this time compleated their work in poſſeſing the remainder of *Brazil*, to the extream diminution of our honour and reputation.

From paſſionate councels never ſprang proſperous events. Prudent men ought to moderate their own propenſions, and deny their own wil, to arrive at a perfect

fect concluſion, which draweth after it ſo many conſequences built on ſolid grounds.

I am of opinion that we make peace, becauſe I foreſee the miſchief of the warr: And that we ought to conclude it of our ſelves, without the mediation of any other, let us ſet our ſelves to foment the warr betwixt the two Crownes, to weaken them, that by their infeebling we may gather thoſe advantages, which befall a third perſon, when two contend together. If we procure warr in others dominions, and preſerve Peace at home, we ſhall ſpeedily pay all our debts, & draw by our traffick the greateſt part of the riches of the old and new world into our own Provinces. Our Cities will grow great, and countreys increaſe with people, and who has men and money is ready for any great enterpriſe.

This was opposed with great animosity, by those who adheared to the contrary opinion in this subsequent tenor.

That peace is ever good, when warr is prejudicial, to undertake that which cannot be brought to a good end, is to rumble into loss and dishonour; It is an unworthy thing to vilifie our own esteem, permitting the honour of our Nation to be trampled upon; and our priviledges rent from us, heretofore obtained of the *Scotish* King, and till now upheld to the great benefit of the Common-wealth.

That the pretensions of the *English* over those Seas was unjust, through which they had no traffick, and not depending on their Kingdome. And if they by having dispossessed the lawfull King, pretended a title to the

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the Kingdom. In the ſame manner it was as juſt for *Holland* to declare a right to the fiſhing in thoſe Seas which were unknown, & in no ones poſſeſſion. And to challenge now what they poſſeſs, is no other then a venting of that ambition by which men ſeek to mount to greatneſs. For a Prince to put up injury is to invite a greater. All hazzards ought to be incurred rather then to ſuffer affronts derogating from glory and reputation (the Soule of Government) If we would not have had warr, we ought to have diſſembled, and not to have undertaken it to quit it afterwards by diſcovering our weakneſs and cowardize; circomſtances that ought to be well pondered upon by Princes.

That the power of the *Engliſh* was not ſo formidable as was

cryed up, nor their victories ſo abſolute as themſelves boaſted, ſeeing they had triumphed over none, but their own diſarmed people (wanting experienced Commanders, and all millitary neceſſaries) more to their own loſs then profit, the victores over Vaſſals being ever imperfect.

If that Nation be more populous, the united Provinces, yeilds not to them, neither in quallity nor Valor: and *Holland* alone can put out more veſſels then all *England*. She alon hath contended with, and tired out the dreadful power of *Spain*, and been ſufficient to dead the Bullets and knock down the pride of that *Cromwel*, more valued for his good fortune, then his Virtue. That fortune is inſtable, and not to be built on: and that his favours to day, are man times the Eeve of her frowns.

That

That all was not gone for the loſs of one Battel, an Infant-Common-wealth may bend like a young twig, but not break like an old ſtock. Aliment is neceſſary for growth, and new States become great by novelties. The *Romans* extended their dominions by their neighbours (jealous of their greatneſs,) endeavoring to reſtrain them. Warr is to be ſhunned by thoſe who only deſire to conſerve their own; But is to be ſought by them who covet to dilate their power, great enterprizes require time, and are not to be atchieved without labour & danger. That a more fit occaſion could never happen then the warr with the *Engliſh*, divided amongſt themſelves by various opinions, factions, pretenders, and ſeveral intereſts; One only diſorder is enough to overthrow that feeble and inconſiſtent Government.

Cromwell

Cromwell ſubdued that Kingdom by force of Armes, of which he had more need to guard him from his hollow-hearted friends then his declared enemies. That the *Holland*-Fleet might land King *Charles* in *Scotland* or in other parts, and therewith by the help of his loyal ſubjects it would be eaſie to diſſolve that union which was knit by compulſion, not by love.

It is to be ſuppoſed as a thing impoſſible to conſerve any long time the friendſhip of that Nation, which being wont to enjoy the Dominion of the Narrow ſeas, without Competitors, cannot ſuffer the decreaſe of its former ſplendour and profit, which time out of mind it hath enjoyed. Concluding therefore that the preſent opportunity ought not to be neg-

lected

lected to avoid future miſchiefs, he propoſed that the War might be undertaken with all vivacity, and to endeavour to ſet footing in ſome part of theſe Kingdoms, where fomenting the civil diviſions, they might hinder the *Engliſh* from interrupting the courſe of thoſe Felicities which the Low-Countreys enjoyed, in which by the induſtry of their inhabitants, Arts and Commerce flouriſhing in every corner of the World (the impediment which only the *Engliſh* could put upon them, being taken away) they ſhould treaſure up in few years ſuch vaſt wealth, that *Holland* alone, would become formidable to all *Europe*.

Amongſt theſe contrarieties of opinions, the minds of the Aſſembly were much ſurpri-

zed,

zed, not only for the variety, but for the importancy of the Reasons, which compared and weighed together, though a great part approved of the War, yet they were constrained to alter their minds, and to concur to the Propoſals for a Peace, earneſtly deſired by thoſe of the Province of *Holland*, which being more rich and more powerfull then the other ſix, it was neceſſary the weakeſt ſhould comply with the ſtronger.

The Province of *Holland*, were reſolved on a Peace, for two moſt important reaſons. The one was, becauſe they bore more then half the charge of the War; the other the evident damage to the Traffick of every ſingle perſon: whereupon new inſtructions were ſent to the Embaſſador at *London*, and the Treaty carry'd on with greater earneſtneſs

neſs which had never been diſcontinued.

Cromwell ſome Months before had Uſurped the diſpotical Authority of the three Kingdomes, an extravagant ſtroke of deſtiny, or rather of that providence, whoſe ſecret workings are to be looked on with veneration, without diving into them by humane weakneſs.

Cromwell diſſolved the Parliament, blaming them, for not doing their duty in any kind, as they were bound to do: And therefore intending to ingratiate himſelf with the people, by procuring them Peace which they ſo longed for, and likewiſe oblige the *Hollanders*, that they might not oppoſe his deſignes, in a time when he ought rather to make friends then to multiply enemies, wherefore he condeſcended

to

to divers points, rejected before by the Parliament, and after many difficulties, discussed; at length without interposition of any mediators. On the 15 th of *April*, all rubbs being removed (among which the greatest was the pretension of the *English*, for reparation of damage suffered by their Merchants, by reason of 24 of their ships seized by the King of *Denmark*, at the Instigation of the *Hollanders*) the Articles of the peace were signed by *Monsieur Jonstal*, *Beverning* and *Nieuport* for the *Hollanders*, and *Lambert*, *Viscount Lisle*, and *Strickland* for the *English*. The Articles were as followeth.

That for the future there should be a straight league between the two Nations; and all hostilities should cease, a totall oblivion of what was past. The two States should mutually defend

fend each other; and neither ſhould do any thing in prejudice of the other: That the King of *Denmark* ſhould be included. Neither Nation ſhould give aid to the enemies of the other; In the *Britiſh* Sea the *Hollanders* ſhould ſtrike ſaile to the *Engliſh*.

Their harbours open to both Nations, That the ſubjects of both nations might paſs unmoleſted by Sea and land into each others Dominions. That their ſhipps being in company together ſhould mutually defend one another in caſe they were attacked by an enemy. If out of their Seas any veſſel ſhould be taken from either, they ſhould joyntly endeavour to cauſe them to be reſtored.

That no Letters of Repriſal ſhould be granted for any dammages received, if within the

ſpace

ſpace of three months ſatisfaction was given. That thoſe who had private Commiſſions, ſhould give caution not to carry any thing unto the enemies of either Nation. That Juſtice ſhould be done upon thoſe who murthered the *Engliſh* in the Iſland of *Amboina*, whereever they ſhould be apprehended in any of their Dominions. That Commiſſioners ſhould be choſen on each ſide to examine the differences betwixt the two Nations in the *Eaſt-Indies*, *Greenland*, *Moſcovie*, *Braſile*, and other places, and in caſe they ſhould not adjuſt them. The Affair to be decided by the Proteſtant Cantons of *Switzerland*.

The Peace being thus concluded, publike and private demonſtrations of joy were expreſs'd on both ſides; but the opinion was; that this agreement was not very pleaſing to *France* and

and *Spaine*, ſeeing that for Political reaſons they ought not to permit the two Nations (differing from them in cuſtomes and Religion, and by natural antipathy not well affected to them) to grow too great. Who being in perpetual jealouſy of the two Crowns, it was probable they would embrace all accidents which opportunely ſhould be preſented to embroyle them in troubles to empair their ſtrength: And in particular, the *Engliſh* were become terrible to all the world, for as much as they had a Captain, *Cromwell*, a contemner of every one, ſtrong in forces, both by Sea, and Land, without any diverſions in that Kingdom; ſo that his friendſhip was as ardently ſought after, as his diſpleaſure dreaded.

This Peace likewiſe diſpleaſed the *Portugueſe*, for although by the winning of the

the Fortreſs of *Recif*, otherwiſe called *Villa Mauritia* (the only place in *Braſil*, remaining in the poſſeſſion of the *Hollanders*) they were become abſolute Maſters again of that Province, yet they were not without jealouſie, that the *Hollanders* would endeavour a revenge.

That brave Exploit was compleated in a ſhort time, and with a few men by *Francis Baretto* Governour of *Fernabuch*, aſſiſted by the Admiral *James Magahes*, with the Soldiers, diſembarked out of ſixty five Veſſels, which arrived there in the inſtant, when *Baretto* was contriving how to make himſelf Maſter of the place.

This Fortreſs was ſurrounded with twenty eight little Redoubts, by which the *Hollanders* keeping open the paſſage

to

to Sea, received all ſorts of Proviſions and Ammunition from the Iſlands of *Ferrando*, *Noronda* and *Tamarica*, from *Peruita* and *Rio Grande*. There were to defend it, beſides the inhabitants, fifteen hundred Low-Countrey Souldiers, with their General *Sigiſmond Coop*. It was aſſaulted the fifth of *January*, and on the ſixteenth capitulated to ſurrender, perhaps their General deſpairing of ſuccour during the War with *England*, imagined to be of longer durance, and not to expire with ſuch advantage to the *Engliſh*, for the troubles in *Scotland* not being yet totally compoſed. Where divers people continued armed in the Mountains, not without hopes, with the aſſiſtance of the united Provinces, to ſet on foot again the Kings intereſt. And upon

upon better grounds renew the War, which many believed was rather prorogued then ended. That Government seeming no ways permanent, not being founded upon the love of the subjects, and guided by persons of different interests and persuasions, alike subject to Mortality, on which many times depends the welfare of those, who during the life of others, seem as dead.

But because perhaps it may seem strange to many, how the *Portugueſe* could by their own forces only, and diverted by the War with *Spain*, make such considerable Progress against so potent a Commonwealth; for the better comprehension of the Reader, it is not amiss to look a little back, and examine the cause and the original of so important a loss.

We must know, that *Holland* having experimented the ex-

extraordinary profit accrewing from the *Eaſt-Indies*, many of that Province perſwaded themſelves, that no leſs might be drawn from the VVeſt, if they erected a new Company ſemblable to that of the *Eaſt-Indies*. To this end they choſe Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſaw* their Preſident; and in the year 1623. with the ſtock of 77 Millions of Florins, having equipped a numerous Fleet, well armed, they took St. *Salvatore*, or the Bay of *Todos los Sanctos* the Metropolis of *Braſil*, which was afterwards careleſly loſt. In that country the gains was ſo exceſſive, that every Adventurer received 25 *per Cent.*

Afterwards the *Spaniſh* Plate-Fleet, valued at 12 millions, being taken by them, they got at leaſt 50 *per Cent.* But the Directors of this Company were rather Prodigall then

then liberal, and more improvident then circumſpect, not having ſetled any form of Government in that Countrey, for the adminiſtration of their Affairs, whereas the ſecuring of the traffick had been more uſeful, then the diſtribution of the moneys to the ſharers, till things were better ſetled; They were forced to undergo a ſmart war with the *Spaniards*, who did their utmoſt to defend thoſe places from whence they drew the greateſt ſupply to their Monarchy.

This occaſioned, that their firſt ſtock being ſquandred, the Curators were forced to raiſe another of 20 Millions, paying ſix *per Cent.* intereſt to the Lenders.

Thus furniſhed, another Fleet was ſent out, under the Command of Count *Maurice* Admirai

miral and Captain General, the undertaking proſperonſly ſucceeded, inſomuch that the Crown of *Spain* ran a great hazard of loſing that part of the new world, and the *Hollanders* in a faire likelihood of gaining a good part of the old, no otherwiſe then did the ancient *Romans*.

The Fleet conſiſted of three hundred Armed veſſels, and from the year 1623. till 1636 are calculated to have been ſent into thoſe parts 806 veſſels of warr, and 67000 Soldiers, with which forces they ſo endamaged the Crown of *Spain*, that their Miniſters have acknowledged, that their loſſes amounted to above 118 Millions of *Florins*. The ſame Company ſacked *Fernabuch* one of the richeſt Cities on thoſe Coaſts, where they got great quantities of Sugars.

From thence they proceeded extending their bounds, and their traffick began to flouriſh with marvellous advantage. They took alſo divers places on the Coaſts of *Africa* from the *Spaniards*, & opened a trade with the *Affricans*. In ſhort, they went on ſo happily that in all appearance the *Hollanders* would make themſelves Maſters of all the *Weſt Indies*, & with that wealth undertake ſome high enterprizes.

From hence ſprung a jealouſy that the Prince of *Orange*, upon whom depended the chief Officers of the Navy, & the directors of the ſaid Company, might by this power and his intereſt in the armies, and Provinces, increaſe more and more in greatneſs and authority.

Thoſe of the Province of *Holland* were moſt concerned; and conſidering by what means they might

might break these high designs, they resolved to give no more support to the *West-India* Company, but to let it waste, and decay of it self.

The *Portuguese* being revolted, and by that meanes a great part of the conquests revolving to them, they applyed themselves with all their power to get into their hands *Brasile*, they began successfully, and continued with increasing fortune.

The *Hollanders* afforded no more succors to the *West-India* Company, sold part of their Vessels, and suffered their fortresses wretchedly to be lost. Some particular Persons gave money underhand to the *Portuguese* to prosecute the warr. And so by bringing low *Orange*, abased their own power. Iealousie in a State being like the Serpent *Amphisbæna* who when she is in fury, with one head wounds her enemie, & with the other her self. There

There was at this time reſident in *London* the Preſident *Bourdeaux*, no more with the ordinary title of an Envoy, (in which quality he had continued there above 18 months,) but declared from the beginning of this year, Embaſſador Plenipotentiary for the moſt Chriſtian King, who having made his ſolemn Entry according to the cuſtome, and Regally received. He imediately applyed himſelf to treat with the Protector, for the eſtabliſhment not only of a good underſtanding between the two Kingdoms, but to ſtrike up a faſt League, thereby to break the deſigne of the *Spaniard*, who ſought likewiſe after an union with *England*, knowing of what advantage it would be to the Crown of *Spain*, to have *England* on their ſide. To this end, *Alphonſo de Cardenas* was ſent thither ex-

extraordinary Embaſſador, and afterwards the Marqueſs *de Leyda*, for that it may be averred that this negotiation of *France* and *Spain* with *Cromwel*, was (as ſhall hereafter be ſhewn) one of the moſt remarkable, that for theſe many years hath been tranſacted, and one of the moſt wonderfull Maſter-peices of Cardinal *Mazarine*, who whileſt the League was framing with the *Engliſh*, omitted not to provide for the carrying on of the warr in *Flanders* and elſewhere.

Towards the end of *March* he put fourteen Companies of foot into *Arras*, and reinforced the frontier Garriſons, giving orders to the *French* Generals to be in a readineſs for the Field, and particularly the Mareſchal *de la Ferte Seneterre* Governour of *Lorrain*; His deſign being to attempt *Stenay* that *Campania*,

diſpoſſeſs the Prince of *Conde*.

He ordered the Count *de Grand Pre* to have his troops in readineſs, which he had brought back from the country of *Liege*, where he had been by command from Court, to aſſiſt the Elector of *Colen*, who at that time had ſome conteſt with the *Spaniards*, by reaſon of the hoſtilities committed by the troops of the Prince of *Conde*, and the Duke of *Lorain* in that Country, which forced the Elector to Arme and call in the *French* to his aſſiſtance. But it being inconvenient for the *Spaniard* to break with that Prince: as they were not conſenting to theſe hoſtilities, ſo they quickly agreed.

The Arch-Duke declaring that for the future the Elector ſhould enjoy a free neutrality, & his State exempted from billeting any *Spaniſh* Soldiers, or others of their

their confederates And becauſe the *Spaniſh* Deputies would not have comprehended in this treaty, the Electors, Princes and other Members of the Empire, and in particular thoſe who had aſſiſted the Elector in this occaſion; He and his ſucceſſors were left at liberty to give ayd and aſſiſtance to any of them, (in caſe they were attacked by the *Spaniſh* armes) without prejudicing the preſent agreement. As for the damages done by the Duke of *Lorains* Souldiers in the Country of *Liege*, without any abetting from the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, as was made manifeſt by the ſeizure of that Duke. The Elector might take his remedy in law, upon the eſtate reall and perſonal of the ſaid Duke, and of all others who ſhould be found his Complices. And that the Arch-Duke would interpoſe his authority to make

the *Lorain* Garriſon, quit *Hermenſtaine*, in caſe of a Siege, no troops under his command ſhould relieve it.

Theſe Articles were within ſix months to be ratified by his Catholick Majeſty.

This Peace being concluded, General *Spor*, with the Electors forces beſieged *Hermenſtain*, which after ten days yielded upon good terms. And the Garriſon permitted to paſs into the *Spaniſh* ſervice.

In *France*, by means of *Mazarine*, the Jealouſies pretended about the doings of the Mareſchal *de Hoquincourt* were laid aſleep, he ſuſpecting or counterfeiting a ſuſpition, that he ſhould be ſeized on (a thing uſually practiſed in thoſe days in the Court of *France*, to reap advantages to their own intereſt) on a ſudden departed from *Paris*, and went to his

his Government of *Perone*.

There were hatching in the breaſt of *Hoquincourt* ſtinging diſguſts, becauſe he had not fully ſatisfied the Court about his Government in *Catalonia* the year before, wherefore the recompences he pretended too were detained, and therefore being impatient to ſee himſelf excluded, and much more that his reputation was touched, while the denials of the Court denoted to the World, either that he was not worthy, or had been guilty of ſome great failings, which rendred him culpable. He made account to practiſe the Maxime obſerved by the *French* under the Miniſtry of *Mazarine*, which inſtructed them, that to receive a benefit, they ought either to render their ſervice neceſſary, or to make their diſtaſte apprehended

as dangerous, men of that stamp, perswading themselves that the need ceasing, the memory of their services would be extinguished too. His design succeeded, for *Perone* being at that time a Place of too dangerous importance, to dissatisfy such eminent persons as might joyne with the Prince of *Conde*, the Court was forced to make a faire shew, and the Cardinal to use all his Art to work him out of that place, which happily came to pass, because the Marischal, not finding the Citizens (who are most Loyall to their King) to favour his designes, & small inclination in the Soldiers, he thought best to come to an accord by receiving a sum of money, and renouncing the Government to his Sonn the Marquiss, a confident of *Mazarines*: This agreement displeased *Conde* becaus if by bringing him over to his side he could have made

made himſelf Maſter of *Perone*, by this Key he might have opened a paſſage into the heart of *France*; and by the help of turbulent and diſcontented ſpirits, have ſtirred up greater troubles then before; But the Arts of *Conde* were not ſo quick and dexterous as thoſe of *Mazarine*, who with a conſtant diligence, minding all occurences both within & without the Kingdom, he overthrew with an admirable ſubtilty all the deſignes of the enemies to the Crown, & countermind with excellent induſtry the Machinations of his Emulators; penetrating into the bottom of their councels & preventing their moſt ſecret practiſes with opportune remedies.

The impriſonment of Duke *Charles* of *Loraine* at *Bruſſels* the 2[illegible] of *Febr* this year, gave occaſion, to the enemies of *Spain* [illegible] up the [illegible] *Frene* [illegible]

of the *Caſtilians*; Publiſhing Manifeſto's and Pamphlets full of reproaches and bitterneſs againſt the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, deſiring to give the world to underſtand, ſuch ſignal ſervices of that Duke for the houſe of *Auſtria*, deſerved a better recompence. The *Spaniard* replied not to theſe papers, holding it ſuperfluous to give reputation to a buſineſs which they ſaid was clear enough of it ſelf, becauſe the only well-grounded ſuſpition that the Duke might prove a turn-Coat, was ſufficient to authorize and juſtify his impriſonment; for in ſtate-jealouſies, ſhadows are taken for ſubſtances, and it is not unbeſeeming to Princes, to uſe violence, when affability may bring them miſchief.

The *Spaniards* anſwered that finding by evident Certainties,

and

and not bare ſurmiſes, that the Duke dealt under-hand with *France*, to the great prejudice of their Affairs in *Flanders*, they were forced to take that courſe to ſecure themſelves from the damage which they might receive by his revolting.

The common opinion of thoſe who were unconcerned in this accident was, that after the arrival of the Prince of *Conde* in *Flanders*, the actions of the Duke began to halt, and that he had thoughts to deſert the party. But for a clearer underſtanding of this impriſonment, it is requiſite we go a little back to diſcover the motives which induced the *Spaniſh* Miniſters to this reſolution.

In the year 1654. the Duke was in the King of *Spaines* ſervice in *Flanders*, where he gave himſelf up to plebeian converſation,

tion, among whom he was more domestick then at Court. He was lookt upon with much distrust and diffidence, ever since the yeare 1652 when going into *France* with his Army to relieve *Estampes*, he made those disadvantageous Articles, for which he was so much accused by the *Spaniards*, and the *French* themselves that adhered to the Princes party, though the Duke maintained that what he had done was upon good Grounds, for rightly considering either the loss or the gaine of the Battail, (which could not be avoided) both must have been of pernicious consequence to the King of *Spaines* service & to himself; for if they wonne the day, they presently lost the Prince of *Conde*, because [illegible] giveing [illegible] other [illegible]

Spain, whose interest it was not, at that time, that a Period should be put to the Civil Wars of that Kingdom. If they were beaten, the *Spaniards*, the Prince, and himself were all ruined, for being in the very Center of *France*, they must either have been slain or made Prisoners.

The jealousies afterwards grew higher, by reason of the displeasure the Duke declared upon the treaty betwixt the Prince of *Conde*, and the *Spaniards*, where it was concluded that what they did acquire in *France* should remain to the said Prince, which the Duke pretended would be much to his prejudice; for if no Town in *France* were left in the hands of the *Spaniards*, to exchange for *Mardyk* at the General Peace, He feared that the single protection of *Spain*, would hardly be able to restore him to his former Sovereignety in his own Dominions.

This

This was one of the principal reaſons, by which he reviveing in his memory the antient emulation betwixt the houſe of *Lorain*, and *Bourbon*, he could not endure that *Conde* ſhould remain Maſter, not only of *Stenay*, *Cleremont*, and other places belonging heretofore to *Loraine*, but alſo of whatever elſe they got.

Wherefore he complained bitterly, urging that *Conde* ſhould either yeeld unto him one of theſe townes, which once he poſſeſſed in his own right, or elſe that he might have part of the acquiſts which ſhould be got by the help of his forces, that ſo having ſome *French* Towns in his hands, he might by the reſtitution of them be reſtored to his loſt Dominions.

And thus farr he declared openly, that if the *Spaniards* would

would not agree to one of theſe Propoſals, he would not be aſſiſting to any enterprize which ſhould redound to the ſole advantage of *Conde*.

The firſt proof of this his deliberation, was in cauſing the *Chevalier de Guiſe* who commanded his troops, to divert the Siege of *Guiſe*; and retiring himſelf the ſubſequent year two leagues from *Rocroy*, when the Towne was beleagured, alledging that his ſouldery would be conſumed in thoſe fenny grounds, for lack of forrage, in the ſervice of one that was rather his oppoſite then his friend.

The *Auſtrians* therefore doubting of the unſetled humor of the Duke, who had ofttimes profeſſed to yeild to the charmes of him that ſhould bid moſt, rather then continue conſtant to the intereſt of thoſe that had bought his

his service, they began to observe him more narrowly, to keep him from those resolutions, which he might take to their prejudice.

The suspitions increased upon notice given, that he had listened to Proposals made him by the Lords of the House of *Guise*, to quit the *Spaniards*; and for the tepiditie, and ambiguousness by which he acted in his Catholike Majesties employments, To these were added the jealousies the Court of *Vienna* took at his dealings, where it was doubted that in case of the Emperours death, (who at that time was very infirme) his Son not being of competent years to be exalted to that dignity, the Duke by his forces, his money, the assistance of *France*, and the Protestant Princes in *Germanie*, might pretend to the Imperial Crown.

This

This ſuſpition was fomented by the ſecret intelligence which he held with the Prince Palatine, the King of *Swedeland*, and other Proteſtant Princes, to whom he had ſent a little before his Secretary *Reſſolot*, and had taken to him the young Prince Palatine of *Sultzback*, in the place of his Brother ſlain at the Battle of *Rhetel*, Whereupon the Emperor joyned with the *Spaniards* in the deliberation, to ſecure his Perſon, and he was the more inclined to it, becauſe as it was afterwards declared by the Dukes own retinue, that his Brother Duke *Francis*, who then lived at *Vienna*, ſeemed not averſe to it. It was ſaid that he was injealouſed upon the account of the Counteſs of *Cantacroy*, by whom Duke *Charles* had two children, and was reſolved notwithſtanding the ſentence, which

every

every moment was expected to be pronounced againſt him by the Holy *Rota* at *Rome*, to avouch his Marriage with the ſaid Counteſs, and contemn the Orders of the Church, by the ſupport of the Proteſtant Princes, whom he had procured his friends, which if it had taken effect, Duke *Francis* and his children had loſt all Hopes of Succeſſion; It was therefore believed, that he not only uſed all means with the Emperour to give his conſent to the ſecuring of his Brother, but moreover by means of his Agents in *Rome*, he ſollicited the Pope himſelf to lend his helping hand, and by his benediction remove that ſcruple from the *Spaniards* which perhaps they might have, in promoting an Action, which to the eye of the World (ignorant of the

the true and juſt reaſons) might appear not conformable to that gratitude, which they profeſs towards thoſe who ſerve them.

The Prince of *Conde* gave the laſt puſh to this buſineſs, who prudently reflecting, that the revolt of the Duke might give a great ſhake to the Catholick Kings intereſt, and the whole Houſe of *Auſtria*, he gave timely notice to the Imperial and Catholick Courts, of the Practices and Intelligence that the Duke held with *France*.

Wherefore it being reſolved in the Councel of *Spain*, that the Duke ſhould be ſeized on, ſecret Orders were ſent to the Count *de Fuenſaldagna*, General of the Army in *Flanders*, with caution to wait a fit opportunity, leſt he might incurr ſome perillous event; a Letter was likewiſe ſent to him to be given

given to the Arch-Duke at the Instant of the execution.

It was very much to be feared, that the imprisonment of this Prince might produce some sinister effects to the interest of *Spain*, admitting that the Commander in chief of his troops should be inclined to a revenge, so that the Count *de Fuensaldigna* became much perplexed, and endeavourd to wave this commission; but receiving iterated commands from the King, he ruminated how to gain the Officers of the *Lorain* forces, but finding no encouragement to move it to the *Chevalier de Guise*, a Prince of fidelity and ingenuity, he procrastinated the business. While this was agitating, hapned the death of the *Chevalier*. And by this means the command of the Army devolving to the Count of *Ligneville*

neville, it proved no great difficulty by civil treatments to gain him, with ſome others of the cheif Leaders his Confidents, yet without imparting to them the miſtery of the *Caball*.

At this time the *French* Army under the Conduct of the Marqueſs *De Faber*, Governour of *Sedan* was in the conntrey of *Liege*, to hinder the troops of *Loraine* and *Conde* from taking up their winter-quarters in that Dioceſs

The *Spaniards* ſuſpected, that this March of *Faber* proceeded from ſome ſecret intelligence with the Duke, upon a deſign betwixt him and the Cardinal, and it was beleeved, the intention was to fall upon the Prince of *Conde*, who being defeated, the Duke would paſs over to the ſervice of *France*; where it was divulged

divulged that he was promiſed 300000 Piſtols. This was thought a fit ſeaſon, the Duke being in *Bruſſels*, his troops quartered in ſeveral places, and many of the Captaines well affected to *Fuenſaldagna*, who reſolved to lay hands on him, as was done in the Arch-Dukes Palace, from whence he was ſent to the Caſtle of *Antwerp*.

The *Sieur De Bollay*, Captain of the Dukes Guards, having notice by a Page of the impriſonment of his Maſter, ran preſently to get into his cuſtody a little Cabinet in which were the Dukes Jewels, to the value of 20000 Piſtols, and delivered it to his Daughter, reſiding in the Palace of *Bergalla* with her little Brother and the Counteſs of *Cantaeroy*, ſaying to her, Madam, it is not now time to weep, your Lord and Father is detained in the Palace, I am preparing

ing to lay down my life to ſerve him, take theſe Jewels and conceal them, not acquainting ſo much as your Mother, nor any other, for this is all poſſibly you will ever have.

Iſſuing out from thence to the ſtreet, to get together ſouldiers and officers (for there were many *Lorainers* in *Bruſſels*) he was preſently ſeized on, and led away Priſoner.

The Daughter revealed to her Mother the Jewels, and ſhe, either underſtanding (as was thought) with the *Spaniards*, or fearing them, diſcloſed the ſecret to the Arch Duke, who gave order that the ſaid Jewels ſhould be depoſited in the hands of Commiſſioners appointed to that effect, and with theſe they ſeized all the Coine the Duke had in his houſe, and what was in the Cuſtodie of the *Silver*

De Thiery his Treasurer, to the value of about 200000 Pistols, besides 100000 Pistoles more in the hands of the *Spanish* Banquers, part of which with the Jewels was afterwards assigned to Duke *Francis*. Duke *Charles* had besides these sums, about 300000 Pistols in *Francfort* and *Holland*, the Merchants of which Nations proved very honest, declaring that they would pay it to none but the right Owner, as indeed they did, when he was set at liberty; nay, there was a Merchant in *Francfort* Monsieur *Neuville*, so noble that he deliverd the Duke at *Paris* seven thousand Pistols of which he was wholly ignorant, because at the time of his arrest, all his papers were taken from him, as those also of his Treasurer, who dyed within a short time after: This

Merchant

Merchant was look't upon with a kind eye by the Duke, who in token of gratitude gave him the Intereſt from the day of his impriſonment till that preſent.

The Duke preſently after his arreſt found means to conveigh a ſcrole to the Count *de Ligneville*, by corrupting a Serjeant (who commanded the ſouldiers that Guarded him,) with 50 Piſtols, the Serjeant conveighed it to Colonel *Remencourt*, incloſed in a loaf of bread, the Colonel delivered it to *Ligneville*, but he took no notice of it, holding it not convenient to do any thing till the arrival of Duke *Francis*, who was ſent for, by expreſs Courriers to command his Brothers troops.

The Count *de Fuenſaldagna* went to the *Lorain* quarters (to

appeaſe them and continue them in the Catholick Kings ſervice) not without evident danger of his own perſon, becauſe he might have been detained by thoſe ſouldiers, and compelled to run the ſame fortune that their Duke did: But with preſent money he ſweetned the Officers and ſouldiers, ſo that all ſucceeded luckily.

The words of the Note conveyed by the Serjeant were preciſely theſe, *Let the world ſee, that I have not commanded traitors and raſcals; you have opportunity to make appear what I have been; keep your ſelves united together, and be not alarm'd at their threats of putting me to death, uſe fire and ſword; and remember* Charls *of* Lorain.

Duke *Francis* poſted into *Flanders*, and had immediately conferred on him the command

of

of his Brothers forces, and the Jewels with the greateſt part of the money conſigned to him.

He alſo began to renew the emulation with the Prince of *Conde*, expecting to be viſited firſt, and eſpouſing his Brothers ſentiment, declaring that he would participate of the acquiſts, and would not be aſſiſting to any enterprize when the ſole advantage ſhould remain to the Prince.

He refuſed to joyne with the *Spaniſh* Army for the relief of *Stenay*, conceiving that he could not ſafely adhere to the *Spaniards* who were ſo linked with the Prince of *Conde*.

It was believed, that at the ſame time that the *French* raiſed the Siege of *Arras*, he permitted *Ennechin* his Steward

Steward to be taken priſoner, on purpoſe that he might have the better opportunity to negotiate with the Court of *France*, who being carryed to a village, ſpoke with the Biſhop of *Fregius* and brought great hopes for his Maſter, who hereupon reſolved to paſs with his troops to the ſervice of the *French*, as ſhall be related in due place. In the meane while all things were prepared for the magnificent Pompe of the moſt Chriſtian Kings Coronation, cuſtomarily celebrated in the City of *Reims*.

On the fifth of *May* his Majeſtie departed from *Paris*, to *Fountain Bleau*, where he ſpent the reſt of that month, as well to divert himſelf in hunting and to enjoy the delights of that marvellouſly delicious

licious place, as the better to conferr with his Miniſters and officers of warr how to proceed the enſuing *Campania*.

Whilſt the Court ſtayed here, *Don Antonio Pimentello* paſſed through *France* with a ſafe conduct, returning from his Embaſſy out of *Swedeland*. Cardinal *Mazarine* laying up with a grateful remembrance his civil reception by the *Spaniards* and *Pimentello* himſelf, when he was forced to leave *France* as hath been already related; he cauſed him to be met on the Frontiers, and accompanyed and ſerved by the Kings troops throughout all the Kingdome. At *Paris* he gave him a ſplendid apartment in his own Pallace: He invited him to *Fountain-Bleau* to ſee the King, and enjoy for ſome dayes the

the royal divertiſements which were accompanied with ſuch demonſtrations of eſteem and affection, that *Pimentelli*, no leſs obliged by the *French* generoſity, then overcome by the Cardinals courteſy, languiſhed for an occaſion wherein he might be employed in moulding a Peace between the two Crownes: truſting that if the treating of it fell to his lot, he ſhould bring it to a happy Concluſion. He declared, that he had found now as ſincere an intention in the Cardinal towards an Agreement, as he did when they were together, with the Count *de Fuenſaldagna* in the Year 1651. and that if then the Treaty was broke off, it was by reaſon of their leaguing with the Prince of *Conde*, for *Mazarine* and *Fuenſaldagna* often reported, that without that obſtacle

ſtacle, they of themſelves, without other Intermedlers, ſhould have eſtabliſhed a firm Peace.

From *Fountainblean* the Court arrived at *Reims* the 4. of *June*. Their Majeſties were receiv'd by 2000 Citizens on Horſeback a League from the City, to which place was made a Guard of 5000 of the Inhabitants in Armes: the Suburbs were alſo filled with Souldiers, at the Entry whereof were erected divers Triumphal Arches, richly beautified on all ſides with golden Lillies, and many Elegies and witty Compoſitions, in praiſe of the King and Queen. All the ſtreets were richly hung with Tapeſtry and other Adornments.

At their Majeſties approach the Cannons roar'd, and the Muskets fir'd; the Aldermen of the City upon their Knees

preſented the King with the Town-Keys of Silver. His Majeſtie lighted from his Coach at *Noſtre-dame* Church, where Cardinal *Mazarine* was already with all the Clergy to receive him.

The Biſhop of *Soiſſons* officiated in the place of the Arch-Biſhop of *Reims* lately dead. The Biſhop of *Ceſaria* was his Coadjutor, the Biſhop of *Noyon* and of *Beauvais* were alſo in their Pontificals. The firſt of theſe made an Oration in praiſe of the King and Queen: and the Arch Deacon did the ſame. The Deacon gave the King the Miſſal to Kiſſe, who kneel'd on 2 velvet cuſhions placed upon a foot-cloth of the ſame, under a ſumptuous Canopy; thence he went into the Quire to aſſiſt at the *Te Deum*, and Veſpers performed in Muſick, and ſolemniz'd by the continual ſhooting

of

of the great Artillery.

After Vespers their Majesties went to the Arch-Bishops Pallace, prepared for the Kings habitation. The Queen lodged in another faire house richly adorn'd.

The day following, being *Corpus Christi*, the King, Queen, Duke of *Anjou*, the Cardinals *Mazarine* and *Grimaldi*, and all the other Nobility of the Court with the Clergy went in Procession. Whilst the Musick sang a Motetto, there descended artificially out of the Ayr an Angel with a Crown, which the Bishop of *Cesaria* received, and presented to the King, who presenly plac'd it over the Sacrament, which was carryed afterwards into our Lady's Church, where the Bishop of *Soissons* sang a solemn Mass. In the afternoon was sang the first Vespers for the Coronation, and the Bishop of *Dole* made a most Elegant Sermon. The

The same day the King placed himself in a Seat near the High-Altar, set there for that purpose, and over against him on the right hand, the Queen-Mother in a Throne elevated 12 Foot above the Pavement, magnificently dress'd up in forme of an Oratory; in the same Throne at the right Hand was seated the Queen of *England*, the Dukes of *York* and *Glocester*, the Princess her Daughter, the Princess Palatine; and on the left the Dutchess of *Vandome*, Madam *d'Senecey* and some others; and upon a form behind the Queen of *France*, Prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, with one of his sons; and over against them the Embassadors of *Venice*, *Portugal* and *Malta*, the Resident of *Polonia*, and all the other Catholick Residents who were present at this Function.

There

There was also on the right hand another forme, for the Cardinals *Mazarine* and *Grimaldi*, and under this one for the Ecclesiastical Dukes and Peers, or those who in their absence supplyed their places. Five foot behind his Majesties Seat there was likewise a Seat for the Mareschal *de Estre*, who represented the Constable of *France*, (a dignitie not conferred upon any, since the death of *les de Equieres*) and another for the Chancellor of *France*, three foot behind was a bench eight foot long for the Mareschal *de Villeroy*, who performed the office of Grand Master of the Artillery, in the place of the Mareschal *de la Milleroy* absent, and for the Duke of *Joyeuse*, High Chamberlain, the first high Seates in the Quire on the same side were

for

for the Mareſchal *del Hoſpital* Governor of *Paris*, and for thoſe who were to ſerve at the Offertory.

On the left hand was a forme adorned as the others, for the Duke of *Anjou* the Kings Brother, who repreſented the antient Duke of *Burgundy*, the Duke of *Vandome* him of *Normandy*, the Duke *d' Elbeuf* him of *Aquitain*, the Duke of *Candale* ſtood for the Count of *Tholouſe*, the Duke of *Rouannes* for the Earl of *Flanders*, the Duke of *Borneville* for the Earle of *Champagne*, theſe were the ſix ſecular Dukes and Peers of *France*, the next day all the houſes and windows being hung with rich Tapeſtry, the Royal Ornaments of the Crown, which were brought from St. *Denis*, were carryed by the Abbot of Saint *Remy*, whoſe

whose Office it is.

The Queen came with all the Ladies to *Noſtre-Dame* Church at 5 a clock in the Morning, as also the Queen of *England*, and a little after the King, clad in a gold laced Crimson Sattin Waſtecoat, open on the ſhoulders and the Arms, with an upper Garment of Cloth of Silver, preceded by 6 Heralds, and his guard of *Suiſſers*, accompanied by the Duke of *Anjou*, gayly habited, the Cardinals *Mazarine* and *Grimaldi* and two of the Eccleſiaſtical Peers, (who went to fetch the King,) the Chancellor of *France*, and all the Great men of the Court. The King placed himſelf in his ſeat before the Altar, attended by his Guards. Afterwards was brought the Holy Viol by the Abbot of St *Remy*, which the

Biſhop

the Bishop of *Soissons* went to receive at the Church door with the wonted Ceremonies, and placed it on the Altar, the King at the same time standing up to reverence it.

The Bishop of *Soissons* vested himself as to Celebrate Mass; and returning with twelve Cannons, his Majestie rose up to do him honour.

The Bishop drew near to receive his Oath, and promises for the Churches under his subjection, and to observe all the ancient constitutions and formalities; He demanded with a loud voice of those who assisted at the Ceremonie and the People, if they accepted for their King, *Lewis* the fourteenth: all with acclamation applauded it; the same Prelate likewise received of him his Oath for the Pope, which he took, laying

ing his hand upon the Evangelists.

This being done, he was led to the Altar, where kneeling down, the Count *de Vivone* (who in this occasion supplied the place of the first Gentleman of the Chamber) took off his long robe, leaving him only in his red Sattin Wastecoat, then the Bishop having recited some ancient accustomed Personal Prayers, he took from him his Sword and blessed it, and laying the scabbard upon the Altar, gave the sword into the Kings hand, who held it whilst the Prayer was said, and then replaced it upon the Altar, and offered it up to God.

The Bishop returned it again into the Kings hand, who gave it to the Mareschal *de Estre*, who personated the Constable: the Bishop then taking the

Patene

Patene of the Chalice of St. *Remy*, poured out upon it a little of the holy Chrism, and of the holy Oyl, incorporating it with a golden spoon; and having recited the wonted prayers, he began to Anoint the King upon the Crown of his Head, on his breast, between the shoulders, and on his right and left shoulder, and his wrists: and then the Duke of *Joyeuse* High Chamberlain, covering the King with his Tunick, and Royal Mantle, the Prelate went on, anointing the Palmes of his Hands, giving him the hallowed Gloves, and the Ring of an estimable value, wherewith he espouses the Kingdom, and hath served at the Coronation of other Kings his Predecessors; as also at the Queens Wedding: Then taking from the

the Altar the Royal Scepter, he gave it into the Kings left hand, the Hand of Juſtice into his right, and upon his Head he put the Crown of *Charlemaine*, and by the Peers Eccleſiaſtical and ſecular, (called by the Chancellor of *France*,) his Majeſtie was conducted to his Throne, accompanied with the ſaid Chancellor, the Mareſchal *de Villeroy*, who repreſented the Grand Maſter, and the High Chamberlain.

The King being ſeated in his Throne, the Biſhop of *Soiſſons* taking his Miter from his Head, made a low reverence to the King, and kiſſed him, as alſo did all the other Peeres, and at the ſame inſtant the cry

cry of *Vive le roy* rang in the aire, and the thunder of the Cannons made the earth tremble, at the same time were uncaged fifty dozen of Birds; the officers at Armes who stood at the bottom of the steps mounting up to the sides of the Throne, scattered among the people in the Quire great quantities of gold and silver Medals, with the King on the one side, and the City of *Reims* with the Holy Viol descending from Heaven on the other. Mass being ended, the King returned to the Altar, and received the communion; then seating himself againe as before, the Bishop took off *Charlemains* Crown, and put on a lighter, in the which he went to the Arch Bishops Palace: where without changing his Garments he dined publiquely upon a Table, elevated from

the ground, magnificently furnished by the Magistrates of the City, and in the same Hall at two lower tables were feasted the Dukes and Peers; all things being performed with most excellent order, without confusion, and with general applause; The next day the King cloathed in a Garment of Cloth of silver, after an ancient fashion, rode in *Cavalcade* in a most gorgeous manner to the Church of St *Remy*, and after dinner in the same order he went to our Ladies Church, where he received the order of *St. Esprit* from the hands of the Bishop of *Soissons*, and then gave it to the Duke his Brother.

On the ninth his Majestie heard Mass at *St Remy*, and communicated again with great devotion, and then being conducted

ducted into the middle of a large *Piazza*, where were ranged about 3000 ſick of the Evil; he touched them all with the ſign of the Croſs, repeating theſe words, *God healeth thee, the King toucheth thee.*

And in this occaſion, with exceeding Charity, he cauſed large Almes to be diſtributed by Cardinal *Grimaldi*, who ſupplied the place of great Almoner of *France*, in the abſence of Cardinal *Antony Barbarine*, honoured by the King ſome yeares before with that conſpicuous dignity.

THE

THE *History of the Managements of* CARDINAL MAZARINE

Part III. Lib. III.

THis ſumptuous Function being finiſhed with all ſplendour and Magnificence, the hearts of all true *Frenchmen* were repleniſhed with content and joy; On the contrary, the Minds of the Malecontents were inflamed with madneſs and rancour, not being able to bear, that the Government of the Court ſhould ſo happily advance in eſteem and Authority to the excluſion

cluſion of them who pretended to partake of the chief employments. Wherefore they labourd with all induſtry to raiſe up new perturbations in the Kingdom. The eſcape of the Cardinal *De Retz* from the Caſtle of *Nantes*, which fortuned about this time, cauſed ſome trouble in the Court, for his faction thereupon taking courage, did ſo buſſle, that if their party had not been convinced by experience, of the ſmall gain which they reaped by the ſeditions, raiſed more to pleaſe other peoples capricious humours then for their own benefit, without doubt they would have enſued ſome new diſorders; but all things being diligently looked after, and provided againſt in time, this threatning ſtorm cleared up without diſgorging thoſe Hail ſtones by many

many eagerly expected.

The Arch-biſhop of *Paris* dying, the Cardinal *de Retz*, his Coadjutor, conſequently being to ſucceed in that dignity. The Court of *France* began again to tamper with him, that voluntarily he would reſign up that Archbiſhoprick for an Equivalent. To this effect the Count *de Nouailles*, afterwards *Premier* Preſident of the Parlement of *Paris*, went to the Caſtle of *Vincennes*, where in a few days they came to a Concluſion, that the Cardinal ſhould renounce the Archbiſhoprick; and till ſuch time that the Popes conſent could be brought from *Rome*, he ſhould be delivered into the hands of the Mareſchal *de la Milleray*, to be conducted to *Nantes*, and there to be ſet free upon the Arrival of the Popes approbation for the ob-

taining whereof, Couriers were dispatched as well from the Court as the Cardinal, who declared himself to be alwayes a good Subject, and a faithfull Servant of his King, though his back friends gave out that his shew of sincerity which he express'd was but feined and not Cordial.

He was accordingly conducted to *Nantes* by the Mareschal attended with a company of the Kings guards, & another troop of Horse, which had guarded him during his imprisonment at *Vincennes*. They arrived at *Nantes* the 12 of *April*, and the guards being dismiss'd he was lodg'd in the Castle in a high apartment looking into the Court, 3 or 4 Soldiers constantly kept the door, another guard was placed on the side towards the house of office, where there was a door walled up leading to a pair of stairs, every night the Sentinels were doub-

In the day time when the Cardinal had a desire to take the ayre, he was waited on by two of the guardes, and in this manner was he watcht till his escape. He was used by the Mareschal with all the sweet treatment he could desire: with entire liberty to converse with his friends and whom he pleased.

A Month after his arivall at *Nantes*, Newes came from *Rome*, that the Pope shewed small inclination to this renunciation, having openly declared that when the Cardinal should be set at free liberty, and that he might understand from his own Mouth the reasons that moved him to yeild to this concession, that then he would consider what was fit for him to do. The Pope pretending that a forced resignment was invalid, and that Princes ought not to be permitted to meddle in Ecclesiastical affaires, this being to put

their Sickle too boldly into anothers harveſt.

This repugnance of the Pope much diſtaſted the Court, and the Cardinals enemies laid the blame upon him, as if he had given ſecret Orders to the Abbot *Charie* his Agent in *Rome*, to ſollicit his Holineſs underhand not to allow his Reſignation.

For which reaſon Order was given to the Mareſchal to look to him ſtrictly. The Cardinal being informed by his friends of what paſſed, and that the Court had a ſuſpicion, that his intentions were not candid, he began to fear ſome ſiniſter accident, wherefore to take away this jealouſie he reſolved to ſend a Gentleman expreſly to *Rome*, to beſeech the Pope to expedite this Affair, on which depended his Liberty; cauſing him to paſs by *Paris* to adviſe with the firſt Preſident, how

how he ſhould demean himſelf in this buſineſs at *Rome*; he wrote likewiſe by him to the Abbot *Charie*, to preſs with all earneſtneſs, that the Pope would approve of that Reſignation by him unconſtrainedly made, & to apply himſelf to the Miniſters of *France*, who ſhould aſſiſt in procuring the ratification.

But whether the Pope regarded the decorum of holy Church, or prevailed upon by the inſtances of *De Retz* his friends, and *Mazarines* enemies, he remained ſtiff in his reſolution, not to conſent to a requeſt which the Cardinal had given himſelf over to, as an Adder to a charme.

Wherefore new commands were diſpatched to the Mareſchal to ſtraiten the Cardinal, and the Sieur *le Tellier* Secre-

tary of State wrote in particular about it. The Master of the Ordnance son to the Mareschal was sent from *Paris* to *Nantes*, with some Orders touching this Affair. The Cardinal suspecting not only to be shut up close prisoner, but also removed to some other place as he hath since divulg'd, where he should be depriv'd of communicating with his friends, he began to study how to make his escape, not confiding in the Mareschals word, who had promised not to give him up into other hands, believing he would make greater account of the Kings Orders then to keep touch with him. The better to cover his purpose, he told the Mareschal, that the visits of his friends became troublesom, and therefore desired to receive them only for 2 or 3 days longer, because he intended to make use of them in concluding an accommodation between the

Duke

Duke *de Briſac*, and his brother the Duke *de Retz*, as alſo between the latter and his wife. Which was granted him.

He acquainted the Duke of *Briſac* and other friends with his deſign, all were of opinion, that he ſhould endeavor his eſcape, offering their help. Sundry wayes were propounded, but in every one aroſe difficulties; it was contrived to convey him away in certain cheſts belonging to the Duke of *Briſac*, in which were wont to be ſent him many neceſſaries, but this they durſt not venture on for ſom conſiderations, which made it appear not ſo proper. At length it was reſolv'd on, that he ſhould be let down the caſtle-wal by a cord brought him by an Abbot, his intimate friend; the place which ſeemed moſt fit for this effect was a little ſpace of the wall watcht by two Sentinels, one of which, tho' near enough, could not eaſily diſcover him.

and the other, who would presently have espyed and hindered him, they resolved should be amused by two that waited on him in his Chamber, who had order that in case his descent should be discovered, to hinder the Sentinel from firing his Musket, and alarm the other Guards.

It being thus concerted, that two of his Servants should let him down by the rope, and that the other two, mean-while, should hold the Sentinel in chat (as they used to do) they put themselves in readyness to effect it, though they verily believed that those foure persons would be detained prisoners, because so soon as the cord could be fastned the City would take alarm, yet they continued firm in their purpose, and performed it so luckily that the Cardinal was a league off

off, & of thoſe who aſſiſted two were got out of the Town, and the other two out of the Caſtle before his flight was known.

In this action there happened two extravigant circumſtances, as the bounty of Fortune enamoured with the hardineſs and induſtry of him that fled.

The one was, that the Guards that had him alwayes in View, perceiving that he was gone, took that way as the ſhorteſt where they had obſerved him to walk. But finding a door ſhut, which uſually ſtood open, they were forced to return back to the place from whence they came which gave time not only to the Cardinal, but to his ſervants, to ſave themſelves, who otherwiſe would have been in imminent danger.

The other was a chance happned to a Dominican Frier, who juſt then was fallen into the Ri-

ver, which runs under the Castle wall; and being in danger to be drowned, the people were so intent to save him, that they minded not the Cardinal sliding down the cord, nor did they perceive it till he was mounted on Horseback, with the help of four of his servants, and a Gentleman of the Duke of *Brisacs*, who waited for him without.

Entring into a Town, through which he was to pass, his Horse falling under him, he put his shoulder out of joynt, and broke his head against a great stone; but he was suddenly mounted again by his Attendants, and as there is nothing which more lightneth a pain then the apprehension of a greater, without minding the anguish of his hurt, he galloped five or six Leagues full speed, to the place where the Duke of *Brisac*, and the Marquess of *Sevagny* expected him,

him, with ſome boats to croſs the Loire. The Cardinal being mounted again upon a freſh Horſe laid for him, the Duke of *Briſac* left him with the Marqueſs *Sevagny*, and poſted before to aſſemble his, and the Duke *de Retz* friends, to convoy him out of all danger: But the Cardinal had ſcarce travelled half a league, when by reaſon of the pain of his ſhoulder, and tired by the ſpeed he had made, it was thought convenient to alight at a Gentlemans houſe, who denying him reception he was conſtrain'd to make uſe of ſome Peaſants to carry him in a chair all night long to *Beaupreu*, (5 leagues further) a houſe of the Duke of *Briſacs*, or at leaſt his Ladies, who conveyd him in her coach to a Gentlemans caſtle of the ſame country, there he ſtayd the reſt of the day, and after he had likewiſe layn concealed the

next

next day in another place, attended by one only servant, he was convoyed by 30 Gentlemen on Horseback, part of a Troop of 200 more, in the Head of which was the Duke of *Brisac*, who came to meet him and conduct him in one of his Coaches to another place, where the Duke *de* Retz expected him with 400 Horse more. With these he carried him to his Castle of *Michecou*; Here he renewed the Retractation made in *Beaupreu* of the renunciation of his Arch-bishoprick, & stayd three days to have his shoulder dress'd, but received little assuagement of his pain for want of good Chirurgions.

Not holding himself sufficiently secure in this place, he passed to *Bell*-Isle (lying five or six Leagues from Land, and about thirty five leagues from *Michecou*) accompanied by the Mar-

Marqueſs of *Sevagny*, and ſome other Gentlemen, his friends and kindred; but even in that place, not thinking himſelf very ſafe, he reſolved to embark in a ſmall veſſel for St. *Sebaſtians* in *Biſcay*.

The Baron *de Batteville* Governour of the place, received him with great honour. The Cardinal diſpatch'd a Courrier immediately to the Catholick King, to let him know of his Arrival, and to implore his Protection, deſiring a Paſsport and Shipping to convey him to *Rome*. But before his Departure, he writ a Letter to the Chapter of *Paris*, acquainting them with his flight, and withal ſent them a publike Revocation of his renouncing the Archbiſhoprick, which he ſaid he had made againſt his Will, being in priſon in the Power of

of his enemies. He endeavoured also by the assistance of his confederates to give birth to some sedition in *Paris*, that might be of force to intimidate the Court, & bring his designs to a wished end.

The newes was received by the Chapter with great joy, for they who at that time officiated in the Church, envying the Glory of Cardinal *Mazarine*, absolutly forgeting their duty, (incited by the insatiable desire of self interest) attended more to temporal then to spiritual affaires, & were so rashly impudent that they gave thanks to God, by singing *Te Deum* publickly in the Cathedral Church. The Grand Vicars were againe complemented and acknowledged by the whole Clergy. And all the Male-contents and others desirous of Novelties, began to shew the rancor of their hearts, and to feed themselves with hopes that *Arras*, which

which was then beſieged, falling into the hands of the *Spaniards*, *Mazarine* would fal likwiſe from his degree of favour, to the great increaſe of the *Condean* party.

The Court which was then abſent from *Paris*, and upon the frontires, was much diſturbed at the news of the Cardinals eſcape, and highly reſented his breach of promiſe to the King, wherein he had declared his free aſſent in renouncing the Arch-Biſhoprick. He was reproached for doing an action unworthy of that purple which he did owe to the Kings ſpecial grace and interceſſion, an act of felonious infidelity againſt his King, into which diſobedience every ſubject who falls is guilty of high Treaſon: They ſaid the Cardinal was of an ill nature, and unworthy of any Clemency to be ſhewed towards him, but to be proceeded againſt with utmoſt rigour

rigour and ſeverity to allay the itching of his ambitious ſpirit. Adding, that admit he had not been impriſoned, if he had been an honeſt ſubject, he ought to have ſubmitted to the Kings Will, abſolute Maſter in his Kingdom. That to revoke what he had done upon pretence, that he was forced thereunto, is a bald excuſe, and not to be allowed, ſince every one, of what condition ſoever in *France*, is ſubject to the Kings Authority; ſo that by the ſame reaſon any one may be ſaid to be forced in his own houſe, as he who is in Priſon, becauſe the King may at his pleaſure reſtrain whom he pleaſeth. Finally, the peoples affection making him preſume a ſecurity in *Paris* from all violence, was alledged by his Adverſaries as a double felony, and

a duplicated errour, seeing that the bare declaring himself able to make Head against the King, and to move the people to sedition was so ugly a blurr, that it alone, without any Arraignment was sufficient to blot the cleareſt innocency.

Yet the Court, as then, made no shew of their indignation, because they were intent upon the relieving of *Arras*.

That Siege being raised, and the King returning victorious to *Paris*, he presently caused the Marques of *Fosseuse*, and divers other of the Cardinals friends, to be clapped up; the Sieur *de Caumartin* was pursued by fifty Archers, but had the luck to save himself. Many Cannons and Priests were exiled *Paris*, and particularly the two grand Vicars of the Arch-bishoprick; Father *Gondi* was con-

confined to the mountains of *Auvernia*, Edicts were published against the Cardinal and his dependents. The Kings Council made an Order that the Chapter should assume the Jurisdiction of the Arch-bishoprick, which they readily obeyed, every one shewing himself pliant to the Kings Command, and disliking those designs which the Cardinal had fancied his friends might have undertaken in his behalf, which are wont to turn their Cassocks at every change of fortune.

Proclamations were also issued forth, forbidding all the Kings subjects under pain of high Treason, to hold any correspondence with the Cardinal, over whose Actions the Court having a vigilant eye, they omitted nothing that might conduce to make him repent of the errour he had committed.

In this *interim* the Catholick King,

King and his chief Favorite, answered the Cardinal with all courtesy, sending him Passports and commanding a Gally to be fitted up for his service, with the offer of 50000 crowns, which he refused, though in *France* they believed the contrary. He stayd at S. *Sebastians* 25 days, where it was laid to his charge in the Court of *France* that he had furthered a conspiracy (after discovered in *Bourdeaux*) plotted by *Batteville*, *Mazarolles* an Agent of *Conde*'s, and *Trancart* a Counsellor of the Parlement of *Bourdeaux* He wrote afterwards very dutiful Letters to the King, which had they not been stuffed with too licentious invectives against *Mazarin*, and accompanied with others to the Clergy, (which were burnt in the publick Market-place) he might with his honour and profit have been receiv'd again into the Kings favor

From

from *S. Sebastian* he went by land to *Valenza*, whither *Don Christopher de Cordova* was sent to compliment him from the Vice-Roy the Duke of *Montalto*, and to present him with divers refreshments.

Here he embarked the 15. of *October*, and in 20 days arrived at *Piombino*. Thence he went to *Florence*, and was received by the great Duke at his Palace of *Ambrogiana* without the City, in that benigne Manner with which that Magnanimous Prince uses to embrace Persons of his quality. From hence he took his journey towards *Rome*, where he arrived the 30th. of *November*, and alighted at the House of the Abbot *Charie*, his Agent, where he continued a long time.

The day after his Arrival he went to kiss the Popes feet, who

who received and careſſed him with extraordinary kindneſs; and in greater Teſtimony of his affection, on the 7th. of *December*, he gave him his Cardinals Hat in a private Conſiſtory; The Prince Cardinal of *Eſte*, Protector of *France*, and moſt zealous of the honour of that Crown, no ſooner diſcovered the Popes intention, but he roſe up and left the Conſiſtory, before the beginning of the Ceremony, as Cardinal *Bichi* did before it was ended, not being willing to be preſent at an Action which would prove ſo diſpleaſing to the *French*.

While the Court continued at *Reims*, amongſt the civil functions they omitted not to prepare for the Military: and becauſe the only means to ſecure peace at home, was to quench

quench the combuſtible matter which might break out again. The Prince of *Conde* more then any thing elſe gave them the greateſt jealouſy: who as being the firſt Prince of the blood, was by a great part of the unquiet ſpirits obſerved & reverenced, if not openly, at leaſt internally, and as a great Captain, he gave them no little apprehenſion by his valour and undaunted courage. It being therefore neceſſary to diſable him as quickly as was poſſible; it was debated in Councel, that the fitteſt way was to take from him the ſtrong holds that he had in *France*, as well to ſecure the Kingdome from foreign Invaſions, and deprive the malcontents of their ſhelter, as becauſe without theſe he would be of leſs conſideration amongſt the *Spaniards*, and conſequently his eſteem waining, his mind might be ſo fretted, that

that entring into diffidence of the Miniſters of *Spain*, it would be eaſy to make him experience the fortune of the Duke of *Lorain*, or reduce him to the obedience of his own King.

Upon ſuch conſiderations was reſolved the ſiege of *Stenay*; Orderswere given to theMareſchal of*Turenne* and *laFerte Seneterre*, to draw the Army with allſpeed towards S.*Menehaud*, the troops in *Alſatia* under the Marqueſs *Caſtelnau* one of the Lieut. Generals of the *French* Armies were recalled, and the Marqueſs *Faber* Governor of *Sedan*, and the Count *deGrandvre* Governor of *Mouſon*, were commanded to keep the ſouldiers quartered thereabouts in readineſs. With theſe troops, and thoſe which follow'd theCourt, it being calculated that they could make about 7 or 8000 men, without leſning the Mareſchals Armies:

The

The King declared *Faber* the Commander of these forces, ordering him as soon as might be to sit down before that place, in pursuance whereof on the 19. of *July*, *Stenay* was invested with 2500 Horse. This place is seated upon the River *Mose*, betwixt *Verdun* and *Mouson*, surrounded with very regular fortifications, furnished with a good Cittadel, and back'd with the Kingdom of *France*.

After the Horse followed about four or five thousand Foot, under the Command of the Sieurs de *Guadagne*, *Varennes*, *Hoquincourt*, *Bourlemont* Mareschals *de Camp* and others. The Sieur *de Chamfort* commanded the Artillery in the absence of the Grand Master who attended on the Court.

It was suddenly blocked up on

on three ſides. *Faber* quartered between *Morſac* and the Citta-del, *Grandpre* on the other ſide towards *Mouſon*. The Regi-ment of *Britany* with one of *Iriſh* were quartered beyond the River, under the command of the Marqueſs *de Hoquincourt*, two bridges were caſt over the Ri-ver, for the more eaſie commu-nication of one quarter with another.

The Troops of the Prince within, were commanded by the Count *de Chamilly* Governour of the Town, and thoſe of the *Spaniards* by Colonel *Colbrant*; the Sieur *de Melun* exerciſed the charge of Serjeant *Major*; the whole Garriſon conſiſted of 1300 Foot and 200 Horſe. There was no default of Victual or Ammunition.

The place being ſo well pro-vided, did not a little leſſen the

hope of the enterprize. Many thought it difficult and dangerous, and others blamed the undertaking of it, foreseeing that the Prince of *Conde* whom it concerned, would do his utmost to relieve it.

But Cardinal *Mazarin*, able by his wit to supply the defect of strength, procur'd with a resolute mind, the Kings engagement, where the conquest would be so much the more glorious and great, by how much the undertaking was difficult. He considered that the Army of *Turenne* could easily defend the Camp of the besiegers, and prevent the enemies of their succour; for though the Prince was very hardy and venturous, especially when he had nothing to lose, yet his fervour would be moderated by the flegme of the *Spaniards*, and stopt from engaging in

in such hazards where one unfortunate rencounter in the beginning of a *Campania* might produce very dangerous events. To this was added, that as the Camp might be easily provided with necessaries to maintain the Siege so it would be difficult for the Enemy to relieve the Town, who must necessarily pass through the barren Forest of *Ardene*, where the wayes are bad for carriages, and the Country sterile of Herbage and Forage for their Horses.

With these reasons the Cardinal fortifyed his designs, whereupon the Siege was undertaken.

The *French* began their attacque upon the Cittadel by two approaches, one on the left hand towards the River, by the Guardes, under the command of Captain *Vistermount*,

the other on the right, carried on by the Mareſchals *de Camp*, planting in few days 24 Pieces of Cannon, diſtributed into ſeveral Batteries.

The King born and nurſed up in war, with a mind repleniſhed with courage, and of magnanimous and glorious thoughts. After his Arrival with the Court at *Sedan*, he went to the Camp and lodged at *Morſac*, where he ſtayed five or ſix days, giving Orders himſelf for all occurrences. He cauſed afterwards the Marqueſs *de Geſures* to ſummon the Town in his Name, as Sovereign Lord thereof. *Chamilly* returned Anſwer, that he was his Majeſties ſervant; but the Prince having intruſted him with it, he could not with his honour reſign it into any other hands then his own.

The

The King returned to *Sedan*, from whence and other places, he ſent Artillery, Ammunition and Victuals to the Camp, where ever and anon he appeared in perſon, eſpecially when there was any thing to de done, and ſo animated the Souldiers with his Royal Preſence, that they were eager for any fierce Engagement.

The fourth of *July* the beſieged made a ſtout Sally with Horſe and Foot led on by the Sieur *de Melun*, but were valiantly received and repulſed.

The News of this Siege much troubled the Prince, who foreſaw he was like to loſe a Town, which would prove of great prejudice to his Affairs. He deſired of the Arch-Duke ſpeedy ſuccour; it was argued in Councel how to effect it; the difficulties appeared almoſt in-

ſuperable by reaſon of the barrenneſs of the Countrey thereabouts, thick with wood, and void of forrage: but chiefly for the unwillingneſs of Duke *Francis* of *Lorain*, (upon whom was conferr'd the Command of his impriſoned brothers Troops) excuſing himſelf, that he muſt not hazard thoſe Troops which were the only ſupport of their Houſe to preſerve a Town for the Prince of *Conde*, yet he yielded his conſent, upon condition the Prince would conſign him *Clermont*.

It is to be noted, that *Stenay*, *Clermont* and *Jametz* belonged heretofore to the Dukes of *Lorain*, but being taken by the *French*, *Conde* poſſeſſed them by the Kings Gift, in regard of his good ſervice done for the Crown.

This poſſeſſion, joyned with the ancient emulation between the

the Houſes of *Conde* and *Lorrain*, and the Conceſſion made by Duke *Charles* with the King of *France* near *Paris* 1652: (when he paſſed to the relief of *Eſtampes*) abandoning the intereſt of the Duke of *Orleans* his Brother-in-law, and the Prince of *Conde*, together with other Reaſons, had ulcerated the minds of theſe two Princes to a mortal enmity, which after the impriſonment of Duke *Charles*, was more increaſed, upon *Conde*'s endeavoring to debauch the *Lorrain* Troops into his ſervice, and other new diſguſts hapning at the Arrival of Duke *Francis*, upon the account of precedency, viſits and complements.

To relieve *Stenay*, the *Lorrain* Troops, which compoſed the third part of the Army, were abſolutely neceſſary. The Prince denied to deliver up *Clermont*

ſaying, *He had nothing to do with* Lorrain, *that he was engaged in the* Spaniſh *Intereſt, who had obliged themſelves to have the ſame concern for his Towns as for their own. That he had received them from the King of* France, *in recompence of his good ſervices, and that he would defend them by all means poſſible.* Wherefore he continued to ſollicit the Arch-Duke and the *Spaniſh* Miniſters for ſuccors, without mentioning *Lorrain*) Theſe entreated Duke *Francis* to permit his troops to march joyntly with theirs, but could not prevail. He perſiſted to ſay, *That he would ſerve the King of* Spain *in recovering of his own Towns, or in the gaining of any other in* France, *ſo they were not of thoſe which by Agreement were to be delivered to the Prince of* Conde, *for whoſe ſervice he would not ſtir a foot.*

This

This form of the Dukes proceeding ſeemed not only ſtrange to the Arch-Duke, but very unreaſonable, ſeeing the ſervice of the King could not be ſeparated from that of the Prince, ſince he had eſpouſed their intereſt. Notwithſtanding, having need of his men, they could not do leſs then conform themſelves to the Dukes ſatisfaction.

They conſulted the Prince, and endeavoured to induce him, without further loſs of time, inſtead of relieving *Stenay*, to fall upon ſome place in the Low-Countreys poſſeſſed by the *French*; hoping by ſuch a diverſion, that if they could not draw the *French* from the ſiege of *Stenay*, at leaſt to gain what was equivalent in another place. And to content *Conde* they offered him in recompence *la Chappelle* and *Chaſtelet* two places in

Champagne; at that time in poſſeſſion of his Catholike Majeſty.

They demonſtrated to him, that theſe two places Neighboring *Rocroy*, taken by him the year before, made a good Frontire, and united a Countrey which brought conſiderable Contribution. The Prince was contented to beſiege ſome Town in *Flanders*, receiving *la Chappelle* and *Chaſtelet*, not in recompence for *Stenay*, nor on that account, but as an earneſt of his Catholike Majeſties affection. They diſputed what place to lay ſiege to; the Count *de Fuenſaldagna*, General of the Army propoſed *la Baſſee* moſt convenient to defend the Territory of *Lille*, and eaſily to be compaſſed, having the City of *Lille* behind it, a Cannal by which Victuals and other Neceſſaries might be conveyd to the Camp.

Be-

Besides, if they carried this place, the taking afterwards of *Bethune* would not prove hard; He said moreover, that this Enterprize might be undertaken by one part of the Army, whilst the other opposed the attempts of the Mareschal *Turenne*, who lay encamped near St. *Quintin*.

The Prince of *Conde* assented not to the besieging of *la Bassee*, considering that it was not sufficient to make them raise the siege from *Stenay*. He judged it better to fall upon some place of greater consequence, and such an one, as the loss of it (if the Cardinal did not save it) might excite against him the general *odium* of all *France*. And this he made appear would easily happen, when they should see that he cared not to lose a place of so great importance,

and

and got with the expence of so much blood and coine, provided he might despoil the first Prince of the blood of what he possessed, by the merit of his services, and which might be effected by a Treaty apart without other cost or trouble.

To these Reasons was added, that many of the *French* did not wish from their hearts, that he should be divested of those holds which might serve as a Refuge, and retreat to the Malecontents of the Court, to obtain their Pardons by violence, for under *Mazarins* direction, there was no procuring any grace without making him fear them, or deem them useful.

With these Motives, and his undaunted mince, egged on by his natural courage, he propounded the Enterprize of *Arras*, more to be regarded, and of higher

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higher conſideration then any other at that time. The Arch-Duke and the major part of the *Spaniſh* Officers ſavoured the Propoſition of ſo brave an attempt. They weighed it with due conſideration, and found it the moſt proper for the Catholike Kings ſervice, but cumbred with great difficulties and hazardous ſucceſſe.

It lying far diſtant from all their own Towns, *Bethune* and *la Baſſee* cloſe behind it, and an Army in the Field, capable to clap between the *Spaniſh* Camp and *Doway*, the only place from which they could receive Proviſions, gave them much to work upon, whom it concerned to look to the event before they eſtabliſhed their reſolutions.

Beſides, that it was neceſſary

to

to make a circumvallation of so large extent, that it might be facile to introduce men into the Town, of which they stood most in need. Moreover they had not Foot sufficient for guards and so many works, not moneys, Victuals, nor ammunition adequate for so great an enterprize.

Conde was fixed in his resolution, either to besiege *Arras* or some other place in *France*, or relieve *Stenay*.

The Duke of *Lorrain* haveing no inclination to do any thing for the service of *Conde*, Offered his troops for the besieging of *Arras*, (hopeing thereby to make the Prince lose his credit, because he foresaw the difficulties) and all *Flanders* offered large contributions to regain that City from the *French*.

These with other reasons in-

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cited the Arch-Duke, seeing that *Stenay* was in hazard to be loſt; To attempt the taking of *Arras*, rather in hopes to cauſe the Siege to be raiſed before *Stenay*, then to conquer that ſtrong City. And hence may be ſeen the inconveniences ariſing in War, when the command of an Army is divided amongſt Generals of divers interests.

The undertaking in truth was very difficult and bold, wherefore excuſe me if I make a digreſſion ſome what prolix in relating divers accidents occuring in this Siege, for the ſatisfaction of thoſe that are Soulciers.

Orders therefore were given them, to poſſeſs themſelves of all the Avenues, but with

a proviſo, added by the Count *de Fuenſaldagna*, that if in taking them the *French* ſhould put men into the Town, then to paſs to the Siege of *La Baſſee*, and this was all the *Spaniards* could obtaine from the Prince of *Conde*.

In purſuance hereof on the 3d of *July* the *Lorrainers* with 4 or 5000 horſe inveſted the Town, taking up their Quarters, between the River *Scarpa*, and the little Brook *La Riviera*, yet this hindred not the Governour from ſending out Meſſengers on the other ſide of the River to acquaint Mareſchal *Turenne* and the other *French* Generals.

The Count *De Mondeieux* Governour of the City had notice two days before from divers parts where he held correſpondence and kept Spies in pay, that the *Spaniards* would beſiege it

it, and although the parties ſent out, brought in word that the Prince of *Conde* was to march towards the frontiers of *France*, and the *Spaniards* and *Lorrainers* to attacque *La Baſſe*, he omitted not to give notice to the Sieur *De Bar* (who with a flying body was not farr off) and to re-demand his own Regiment of Horſe, and that of *Eſquancourts* gone out of the Town ſome dayes before. But they being already Marched towards *Rue*, it was too late to recall them.

The ſame day in the Evening the Prince of *Ligne* appeared before the City with the *Spaniſh* Horſe, and quartered at *Courtabon* and *Tilloy*; The next day the Prince of *Conde* with his Troops took his Poſt at *Beaurin* and *Agny*

Out of theſe Troops 2000 commanded

commanded Horſe were ſent over the River *Scarpa*, to look to the Avenues on that ſide. The third day arrived the Foot and Baggage, with a multitude of Waggons of Ammunition and Victuals, and a great Train of Artillery. The Beſiegers were 1600 Foot effective, and about 12000 Horſe, and 7000 Pioneers armed with Firelocks. The Circumvallation was ſpeedily drawn and begun upon the ſame line, which the *French* had made in the year 1640. about ten *Italian* miles in circuit.

The Arch-Duke lodged below, in a place called the Court of the Grove by the River ſide towards *Baupame*, fronting S. *Cyprians* Mount, beyond the River quartered the Count *de Fuenſaldagna*, communicating with that of the Count *de Garſia* Camp-Maſter General; next him

him over againſt S. *Elias* Mount was lodged *Don Ferdinando Solis* General of the Artillery, from whence were continued on, the quarters of the *Lorrainers*, which cloſed with thoſe of the Prince.

The Governour made all requiſite preparations for his defence, ſet men at work where it was moſt needful, advanced his trenches and breſt-works in the moſt dangerous places, and by a Sally of 200 Horſe endeavoured to hinder the enemies deſignes, but was driven back with ſmall loſs to either part.

The Sieur *de Bar* attempted to put into the Town his own Regiment of Horſe, with the Regiment of S. *Lieux*, they came in the night, very near the Prince *de Lignes* quarters, and charged the *Spaniſh* Guards ſo briskly that they had all

all got in safe, if a part of them had not missed their way in the obscure of the night, by which mischance they being forced to retire, there entred only S. *Lieux*, some Officers, and about a hundred Horse.

On the 6th. of *July* in the night, the Sieur *de Equincourt* came upon the *Lorrainers* line, and although they were opposed by an out-Guard advanced, he bravely beat them back, and with 350 Horse entred *Arras*.

Two other Squadrons had also entred if they had not light among certain hedges, and the cords of the enemies tents, which so discomposed them, that being set upon by the *Spaniards*, after a confused skirmish, they were forced to retire with the loss of some Officers and Souldiers, and about an hundred and twenty

twenty taken Priſoners, with the Sieur *de Verderone* a Captain of Horſe, and the Sieurs *de S. Serre*, and *de Bauliviers*.

The Chevalier *de Crequy* met with better fortune, for he fetching a Compaſs towards *Bethune* on that ſide where there was leſs ſuſpicion, and by conſequence leſs diligently guarded, he entred luckily the City, with divers other Officers, and 230 Horſe; the Regiment of *S. Jean* and ſome other Officers ſhould have followed; but miſtaking their way, and hearing the Alarm in the *Spaniſh* Camp, they were conſtrained to return back again.

Theſe troops being gotten into *Arras*, which in all amounted to above 800 Horſe, with many skilful Officers: It was the opinion of the Count *de Fuenſaldagna*, that the *Spaniſh* Army

Army not being yet far engaged, it was seasonable according to appointment to quit that siege & sit down before *la Bassee*. The Arch-Duke assented, but not to put *Conde* out of humour who pressed for the continuance, they went on with their circumvallation, so that the City being begirt round, and no impediment of Villages or Suburbs: The Prince, in whose valour and experience in Military Affairs all their hopes were placed, caused two approaches to be made, the one near his own quarters, and the other a little above, many Souldiers working with the Pioneers, and (heartned with large recompences) striving to out do them. *Mondeieux* reinforced with the aboveſaid 800 Horse, determined with frequent Sallies to incommode the works of the Aggressors,

greſſors which advanced ſlowly, he eſteeming this form of proceeding very convenient, by reaſon of the impediment which he gave the enemies in their works, and very generous for the fame and glory which thereby was gained. The whole Affair conſiſting in giving time to the Court of *France*, to free themſelves from the ſiege of *Stenay*, and unite all their forces for their relief.

Of this was hoped a happy event, every one perſwading themſelves with ſtrong Reaſons, that Cardinal *Mazarin* would employ all his Wit, Art and Force, not to loſe in the Kings view ſo famous and important a place.

The Mareſchal *Turenne*, ſo ſoon as he underſtood that the *Spaniards* were upon their

upon their March towards Buchain and *Arleux* he perceived they intended for *Arras*, and dispatched sollicitously advice to the Mareschal *De la Ferte Senecterre* to draw his Army towards *Ham*, whilst himself advanced towards *Riblemont* and St. *Quintin*: Hearing upon his March that *Arras* was attacqued, he dispatched away some Troops to try if they could enter into the Town, but it succeeded not; such was the watchfulness of the *Spanish* Captaines. La *Ferte* came to *Orancourt*, and the Sieur *De la Cordonier* who commanded *Mazarines* Regiment joyning with him with a thousand Horse, they marched towards *Perrone*, where the Army being much increased by the addition of other Troops they took up their posts in the most convenient places to give succour to the

the beleagured City.

Amongſt theſe skirmiſhes which dayly hapened between thoſe who were moſt advanced, The Sieur *de Montplaſir* endeavoured to get into the Town with 50 Voluntiers, but was repulſed, himſelf with ſome others remaining Priſoners.

In the meane time the *French* Army drew near to the *Spaniſh* camp, in the moſt advantageous places to cut off Convoys taking up their quarters in that part of the country between *Inchi* and *Monchy*, and as far as *La Scarpa*.

The Army of the two Mareſchals conſiſted of 18000 men, all experienced and old Souldiers, with officers of clear fame, Noble birth, and approved valour.

The *French* made divers Bridges over the River, to ſcour

the Countrey round about, and cut off the passage to *Doway* and *Cambray*, where the *Spaniards* had their Victuals and Ammunition, and other Necessaries, whence ever and anon they brought them to the Camp.

The Governour the Count *de Mondejeux*, a Cavalier, very eminent, not only for his Gallantry and experience in Warre, but for his liberality towards his souldiers, hearing of the approach of the *French* Army, caused publick demonstration of joy to be made throughout the Town, distributing wine and other things among the souldiers, encouraging them, and causing them to cry *Vive le Roy*. This done, he continued the works about the Countrescarp, as Traverses, Galleries, and other Intrenchments about the *Fosse*.

Perceiving a great alacrity and

and confidence in the ſouldiers, he publickly gave them to underſtand, that he had received advice from the *French* Generals, that they were ready to attempt their relief when ever he deſired it, and that he would not return them an anſwer til he had conferred with his ſouldiers and officers, becauſe he deſired, that as they participated of the danger and toil, ſo they might alſo ſhare of the honour and glory. That for his part, he was of opinion to write back again to the Generals, that there was no need to hazard any thing as yet, That they might in the mean time, if they liſted, beſiege ſome other place, or entir into *Flanders*, and return time enough to relieve *Arras*, which might be done with leſs oppoſition ſix weeks hence, becauſe he doubted

not but the Enemies Infantry by that time would be much weakned and diminiſhed.

The Officers and ſouldiers, beſides their experience in Arms, ambitious of honour, extoll'd the reſolution of their Governour, crying out, that they ſtood in need of no other ſuccor.

The Governor having thus accompliſhed his deſign, made ſhew to go and write to the General, and by this means kept them in heart to the very laſt, & in hopes to be relieved whenſoever it ſhould be expedient.

This way *Mondeieux* induced his ſouldiers to behave themſelves with greater courage and boldneſs, ſhewing all Governours of Towns by his prudent conduct, that ſo long as the hearts of the Defendants are kept up with hopes, they are always ready for any bold action.

Hence

Hence it followed, that the Soldiers of their own accord, being desirous to encounter with the enemy, voluntarily proposed to make a general Sally with Horse and Foot; On the 19. of *July* against the *Travers* cast up by the *Spaniards*, and this they intimated to the Governour, which he having with strong Arguments opposed, as well by reason of the great appearance of the enemy the day before at their main Guard, as also because the said Travers was a good way off, so that they which sallied out would be in danger to be cut off by the *Spanish* Horse; yet to content the souldiers he gave way unto it; and in order thereunto a thousand foot were drawn to the Countrescarp, assisted by the Cavalry, fourscore Firelocks and Halberdiers, flanked by

two ſquadrons of Horſe attacked the Prince of *Conde*'s traverſe on the left hand of that of the *Spaniards*, a body of 500 Foot was to back them, marching in Battalia, to facilitate the Attempt; 500 Horſe under *Creqny* and S. *Lieux*, divided into ſix ſquadrons, advanced likewiſe toward the enemy with deſign of the attack of the main Guard ſucceeded, to fall upon the line of the *Spaniards* Traverſe on the inſide, and drive the enemy upon two other bodies of 300 foot, and as many Horſe placed between the counterſcarp, and the Head of the *Spaniſh* Trenches, where commonly the greateſt part of the enemies Horſe did duty. The ſally was ſo well ordered, under the favour of the cannon from the walls, and Muſquetiers of the Counterſcarp, that the *Spaniards* could not come on, but with diſadvantage, nor paſs betwixt

twixt the Traverſe, and the 300 Horſe and foot, but only with one ſquadron at a time, ſo that they might eaſily be beaten, as well by theſe ſquadrons as by the 500 horſe which were on the other ſide. But as in the moſt likely deſignes very often happen accidents which fruſtrate the ſucceſs, ſo the *French* Cavalry and Infantry after having with little difficulty put to Run thoſe who were in *Conde's* Travers, and were upon the point of forcing the main guard, where the reſiſtance was leſs then was expected. The Prince arriving at the very inſtant, cauſed 1000 horſe to advance, as if he intended to cut off thoſe that were betweene the counterſcarp and the Traverſe.

Whereupon the *French* forgetting the direction given, preſt forward with ſom diſorder, being ſhourd upon with ſmal ſhot from

from the maine guard and the *Spaniards* traverſe.

Eſquancourt ſeeing the 500 Horſe make towards him in diſorder, thruſt forward with his foure Squadrons, and charged the Prince his Cavalry ſo warmly, that thoſe that were in diſorder had time to rally. Here the diſpute continued very hot till the *Spaniards* overpowering them with men, the *French* were forced to retreat. The Foot being forſaken by the Horſe were roughly handled by the Prince, and thoſe who were furtheſt advanced in the travers were all cut in peices, or made Priſoners; The other getting under the Covert of the Battalion of 600 foot retreated orderly: There were Slaine of the *French* ſix Captaines, and five Leiutenants taken Priſoners; among the reſt was killed the old

old Sieur *de Serre* commanding the Regiment of *Mondejeux*, and Captain *Affg*. In the Regiments of *Crequy* and St. *Lieux* ſeven or eight Officers were alſo ſlaine, and ſome 40 Troopers, St *Lieux* was wounded with a Pike. The *Spaniards* loſt about 200 with ſome Officers.

The 20th. of *July* by day break the *Spaniards* had raiſed two Batteries, the one of five the other of ſix Cannon.

The Governour perceiving that the Soldiers were ſomewhat diſcompoſed upon the unſucceſsfulneſs of that Sally: He gave out that the *Spaniards* had loſt many Chieftaines in that rencounter, and therefore had raiſed two Batteries, to hinder the beſieged from falling upon them again.

The next day the *Spaniards* opened two trenches, at the

points of the counterscarp of the Bulwarks of the Crown, and increased their guards.

The Governour fearing that they should settle their quarters there, reinforced also his guards, sending four or five hundred foot, & 200 Horse into the counterscarp, to observe the motion of the enemy, who attaquing the counterscarp about midnight the 22. of *July*, were bravely repulsed, leaving behind them great quantity of fagots, baskets, and other Instruments of war, nevertheless they renewed their assaults the second and third time; the besieged at break of day issued out, tumbled them one over another, killed about 500 souldiers and Pioneers, and demolished the work they had begun, carrying away their fagots,

baskets;

baskets and other things in the counterscarp. The Governour told his men, that they ought to make their sallies in this manner; and not far off.

At the same time, having understood that the *Spaniard* had given many false alarms in divers places, and were entred into the Crown of *Boudimont*, a Post of great importance; he took with him as many men as he could, without disfurnishing the places assaulted, telling them that these were *Lorrainers* loaden with money, which they had got by plunder; and for their greater encouragement he led them on himself, marching in the front of the first Battalion, flanked by two squadrons of Horse, and one of Musquetiers.

The

The *Lorrainers* would not ſtand the attaque, but retired in all haſt, and the *French* entered in without any reſiſtance, inticed with the hopes of booty: The regaining of this Poſt was much for their advantage, becauſe if the *Lorrainers* had kept it, they had found the Counter-ſcarpe, without Paliſades the ditch without traverſes, or other defences, to hinder their approach to the walls.

The night following the beſiegers to approach the Counter-ſcarpe more under covert, drew two trenches to each point of their Traverſe, placing there a ſtrong guard of Horſe and Foot.

The Governour nevertheleſs would not conſent to fall upon them, but with feigned Sallys gave them frequent alarms, endeavouring therby to cauſe the

Pioneers

Pioneers to ſlacken their labor, and the Officers and Souldiers often to ſtand to their Armes, giving greater commoditie to thoſe on the walls, to diſcry and ſhoot them, and effectually many were killed; This notwithſtanding they began to play from a battery, planted near the counterſcarp to break the Paliſades, and to ruine a litle half-moon of ſtone, between the two half Bulwarks of the Crown, raiſing a great lodgment in form of a Barricade.

The *Spaniards* having made proviſion of faggots and Gabbions, behind the Barricado they endeavoured to lodge themſelves at the Paliſadoes, but were repulſed with the loſs of many men, and haveing intelligence by a fugitive, that the mines of the beſieged

beſieged were in a good forwardneſs, they began their countermines to meet thoſe of the *French*, and blow up the Paliſades and Counterſcarps.

They ordered afterwards two Approaches on the right and left hand towards the poſts where the beſieged were weakeſt in their defence, and continued at that exerciſe five dayes, at the end of which they ſprang two Mines, which did not only evaporate without effect, but alſo gave opportunity to the beſieged to lodge themſelves in the ruines at the very head of the approaches, hindring them from further progreſs, and keeping them above a Pikes length diſtant from the Paliſades

ſades and the ſaid Lodgement.

In the mean-while the *Spaniards* opened a trench on the left hand of their approach, and raiſed a great redoubt between the Horn-work, and the Half-Moon of *Burgundy*, and two lines which led them to a Tenaglia or out-work made by *Mondicux* before the Half-Moon of *Burgundy*.

They thundred afterwards continually with their cannon upon the ſtone half-Moon, and made ſo great a breach in the Counterſcarp whither they directed their approaches, that the night following the Defendants could not repair the ruines.

And

And the *Spaniards* at the same time gave the assault in three places, at the *Tenaglia* of the Countrescarp of the Half-Moon of *Burgundy*, at the Priests *Bonet* before the half Bulwark, on the left hand of their approach, and at the point of the Countrescarp, towards the Gate of *Ronville*.

The *Spaniards* were repulsed at all these places, though they were reinforced with 20000 fresh men, and had raised a Lodgment above a Pike higher then the Priests *Bonet*.

A little before Morning they gave a second general assault, but were every where beat back except at the Priests *Bonet*, where entring they found a streight Traverse, which shut up the neck of the work, and served them to lodge there.

Day appearing, the *French* endea-

French endeavored to diſlodge the enemy from the Traverſe; but having but few ſmall ſhot on all the circumference, and not being able to get to the traverſe, by reaſon of another raiſed in the covert way; the *Spaniards* rendred their attaque of no effect, and ſlew many of their officers and ſouldiers.

The 31. of *July* in the night, they advanced their approaches on the right and left of the covert way, to come to the Barricadoes that hindred their deſcent into the ditch; and at the ſame time they caſt up another Lodgement under the favour of the Cannon of the Prieſts *Bonet*, along the Palliſades on the left and right hand alſo, which by the help of Faggots and Gabions, being raiſed extream high, by break of day, the trench of the beſieged

ſieged lay expoſed to their cannon, ſo that many of their men being ſlain they were forced to retire.

The ſame night the Chevalier *de Crequy* attempting to return into the Horn-work by a ſecret paſſage which he had made under-ground between the two bulwarks, received a Musket-ſhot in the calf of the leg.

They carried on alſo that night two more attaques, within a Pikes length of the Tenaglia, on the ſide of *Burgundy*.

The ſame day they planted two batteries of fifteen Guns, which made a great noiſe to little purpoſe, tearing only ſome ſmall defences, and ſome paliſades; they continued from thence their approaches begun on the other ſide of the counterſcarp which paſſed under the

close way, and presently drew another line near the Horn work of *Burgundy*, which passed from one point of the Tenaglia to the other, fencing it behind with Faggots and Gabbions much higher then the Tenaglia.

This they made use of for a spacious Redoubt, with a double lodge before for their Musquetiers and Flankers for their approach, which they drew the next morning directly towards the two points of the Angle, by the help of which they thought to command the Cortines on the right and left.

They found some traverses of a good height in form of flanks, so that they were forced to proceed with Mines and Lodgments, which they supposed they might have omitted, if they could have gained the said inward Angle.

Things

Things being in this posture, the Aggressors went on with their approachesunder-ground, and pierced into the ditch of the Horn-work of the two Bulwarks, and into two sides of the Cortine. They wrought all day long at that, which they had sunk under the ditch, and in the other they covered themselves so, that they could not be seen by the Defenders, nor offended from their Galleries.

The Governour in this emergency caused certain wooden Engines to be made with iron-hoops on the top, in which placing Granadoes, and giving fire to them at a little touch-hole, bored in the trunk, they cast them as far as the middle of the ditch, wherever they heard the besiegers at work.

This invention stood them in wonderful stead, and constrained the

the *Spaniards* to cover themſelves with planks plated with tin, lead and raw Hides, by which the Granadoes rowling off, they ſaved themſelves from the wilde-fire, which was continually poured upon them.

At the ſame time they raiſed two Batteries, each of three Pieces playing continually upon the Cortine of the two half bulwarks, by the favour of which they attacked the Hornwork in ſeveral places, and hindred the Defendants from ſallying by the ditch, on the brink whereof they had made large Lodgments and Traverſes on both hands.

The Defendants in the mean time wrought at their countermines, and meeting with two of the enemies, they blew them up, and lodged themſelves in the ruines, to hinder the Beſiegers from

from returning into them again; but the *Spaniards* wrought in so many places, that it was impossible to meet with them all; wherefore the *French* began to make a retreat, in the form of the above-mentioned Horn-work, and by great Traverses joyned it to the chief Horn-work, which they judged they should be able to maintain, as they did, by the help of the new intrenchment till the work was perfected.

Whilst the Prince of *Conde* caused two new Mines to be made in the Half-Moon of *Burgundy*, and the *Tenaglia* adjoyning: The *Spaniards* went on with their approaches on the left and right hand, to the intent to lay open the flanks of the enemies defences, who night and day made sometimes feined, sometimes real sallies from the counter-

terſcarp where the *German*-Regiment was lodged, which (having no other fortification on that ſide) gave great moleſtation and loſs to the beſiegers, both parties ſtanding almoſt continually with Pike, Sword and Granadoes in their hands. The Mines under the great Horn-work and Tenaglia being perfected, the *Spaniards* gave fire to them, and made their aſſault with admirable courage.

The beſieged defended themſelves with no leſs valour, but being over-powered, the *Spaniards* gained the Horn-work.

In the *Tenaglia* the diſpute was more hot, laſting till break of day the 8th. of *Auguſt*, by reaſon of the ſtrong reſiſtance of the *French* horſe and foot, but the beſiegers having paſſed the counterſcarp in two ſeveral places, with ſubterranean Galleries, which laid bare the

the traverſe of the *French* who retired behind the flanckers caſt up the next day after the work was made, called the little horn work.

They had alſo made another retreat at the Tenaglia in ſight of the beſiegers, in form of a crown work. The *Spaniards* endeavoured to lodg themſelvs in the horn-work, and in the deſcent of the Counterſcarp call'd the Tenaglia of the *Capucins*.

The *French* did their beſt to repel them, whence their happened continual skirmiſhes with reciprocal loſs on both ſides; the Governour finding himſelf beginning to be ſtraitned, omitted not to enlarge himſelf with new intrenchments in the outward fortifications, to keep the *Spaniards* further diſtant from the City-walls; who on the other ſide redoubling

their assaults, endeavored all they could to make themselves Masters of the out-works, after which they hoped in a short time to gain those within. To this end the 11th: of *August* in the night they attacked the Hornwork and the *Tenaglia* at one and the same time, but the Defendants having erected three Coffins or covered Galleries in the ditch of the Hornwork, well stored with Musquetiers, and pouring upon them continual showres of Hand-Granadoes, they were constrained to retreat with the loss of about 100 souldiers, and divers officers left dead in the ditch, and stripped by the *French*.

Not different was the success which they met with in attacking the *Tenaglia*, where being able to make but one Lodgement at the point of the

Redan, they were ſo harraſſed with Granadoes, fire works, and a furious ſally, that they were forced to abandon the enterprize, ſheltring themſelves behinde the Gabbions and Faggots, which they had brought thither to make their Lodgements.

But for all that, they gave not over to aſſault afreſh with greater fury, and in ſpite of the vigorous reſiſtance of the Defendants after many skirmiſhes, ſometimes with loſs, ſometimes with advantage, they gained the counterſcarp of the little Horn-work, and afterward that of the two half bulwarks, making there a large Court of Guard, and lodging here good ſtore of foot; they raiſed ſeveral batteries at the head of their works, as alſo before the little Horn-work, over againſt the Cor-

Cortine of the two half bulwarks, with which they battered the Palliſadoes, and part of the Parapet which was but thin, and made up of looſe earth.

The *German* Regiment of *Mondejeux* made a vigorous Sally on the ſide of the half-Moon of *Burgundy*, and not a little endamaged the Lodgement of the Beſiegers, who were not only hindred from advancing, but alſo forced a little to recoyl.

After this ſally the ſame Regiment made another in the ſame place, much more conſiderable. The fight was ſo fierce, that many were ſlain on both ſides, the *Dutch* had the advantage, carrying away ſeveral officers and ſouldiers priſoners into *Arras*; and this was the reaſon, that for two days after both parties were huſh't, fortifying themſelves, and making mines and counter-mines.

The 18th. of *August* the *Spaniards* having made a great breach in the little Horn-work, and towards Evening ſprung two Mines. In the Night they gave a general aſſault, and fortunately made themſelves Maſters of the Horn-work; At the ſame time they furiouſly aſſaulted the half-Moon of *Burgundy*, but were beat back with ſome loſs, gaining nothing but a few Gabbions and Faggots, which they found in the Lodgement they loſt a little before.

Having afterwards lodged themſelves in the night upon the Cortine of the little Horn-work, they deſcended on all ſides, and made a Lodgement in forme of a Redoubt, cloſing the neck of the two half Bulwarks, and opened three Approaches to get near the Half-Moon, and the Flankers, filling the Ditch,

the

the better to withstand the Sallies.

The Governour having taken an exact view of all, commanded 400 men from other Posts to fall upon the Lodgment, near the half-Moon of *Burgundy*.

The *Spaniards* the same night gave a fierce onset, and with their Granadoes did considerable damage to the Defendants, and amongst the slain and wounded, which were no small number, the Sieur *de Boham* Camp Master, and Lieutenant Colonel to the Regiment of *Mondejeux* was kill'd, a person of great valour and an excellent Foot-Commander. The *Spaniards* being repulsed, the Governour caused the Palisades to be pull'd up, and twenty choice men, issuing out and falling upon the foremost cut off many of them.

The night following they opened two other Approaches againſt the Traverſe ſo often attacked, and entring into the Counterſcarp found it deſerted, the Governour having withdrawn thoſe who were in it to another work behind it much ſtronger, more defenceable, flanked by a breſt-work, which rendred the other unacceſſible if it were not firſt taken.

The day following they made only ſome feigned offers to attack the Traverſe and breſt-work at the Horn-gate, advancing but little in their Approaches.

The night before the 25th. of *Auguſt*, the Governour who had a continual eye upon the Motions of the enemy, was advertized that 300 *Lorraine* foot were entred into the Trenches of the Approaches, though they were

were not wont to budge from their quarters, by which he judged that they intended to give a general assault to those few out-works which yet remained untaken, wherefore he went immediatly into the City, & after having doubled the proportion of ammunition, and provided to secure the inhabitants who were kept disarmed, and narrowly watched, he drew out as many men as could be spared, and lodged them in places exposed to most danger. And told the officers and souldiers, there remain'd only that night to look well to themselves; presaging as it were, what followed afterwards.

He took a view of all the advantages and defects of the place, and endeavored to benefit himself by the one, and to redress the other.

Two

Two houres before midnight the Besiegers failed not to give a general assault, just as he had prognosticated, but that violence was as bravely repulsed, as happily foreseen. Three houres before day the Governour made a Sally upon those who were on the Guard in the Traverse which the *Spaniards* had taken, beat them out and quite demolished it; thence returning again into the Counterscarp together with S. *Lieux*, he laid himself down upon a Cloak to take an houres repose.

In the mean time the most Christian King urged by his Presence the taking of *Stenay*, that he might afterwards bend his whole force against the *Spanish* Camp before *Arras*.

At this very time by Order from the *Spanish* Court Duke *Charles*

Charles of *Lorrain* was ſhipped at *Dunkirk*, and ſent Priſoner to *Toledo*.

His Troops that were very affectionate to him, at this were much diſcontented, though in outward ſemblance they ſhewed the contrary, as alſo did Duke *Francis*, though little ſatisfied.

Cardinal *Mazarin* making uſe of the occaſion to deprive the *Spaniards* of their Troops, beſides the Manifeſtoes and Invitations made by the Crown of *France*, to the Souldiery and the Duke himſelf, to ſeparate themſelves from the *Spaniards*, he renewed his inſtances with great earneſtneſs, and endeavoured to gain their chief Commander; the Count *de Ligneville*, repreſenting to him, how much it concerned his reputation to do his utmoſt for his Maſters freedome.

He offered him in the Kings Name, all the assistance and caution for the performance of his Promises, which were worthy of acceptance, seeing that present conjuncture was so opportune, that if they would then desert the *Spaniards* he should force them to set the Duke at liberty, which being done, his Most Christian Majesty did not pretend that Duke *Francis*, the Count *Lignevill*, nor any of the officers or soldiers, should be oblig'd to anything but left to their own choice to take what party they pleased.

These Proposals were fomented by some persons who had undertaken this Affair, and were well received: But the Duke, fed with hopes, and the chief Officers, gained by great advantages (which are wont to be liberally dispenced by Statesmen, when necessity compelleth

or

or fear prevaileth) they came to no concluſion, and the rather becauſe every one having a natural inclination to command, Duke *Francis* minded more his own profit then his Brothers; for State-intereſt is that Devil which defies all conjuration.

This deſign failing, the King not only perſiſted to haſten the taking of *Stenay*, but provided for the ſaving of *Arras*.

He went in perſon very often to the Camp, and chiefly when any conſiderable Action was to be done, to be an eye-witneſs of it. The 22. of *July* they ſprang two Mines, the Sieur *de Guadagne* Mareſchal of the field in the day time aſſaulted the palliſade in the ditch of the cittadel to make a lodgment there; but not being followed by the Regiment of *Britany*, nor his orders put in execution, which were to make a ſtand upon the paliſades, he was forced to retire. The

This put too much heart into the beſieged, who prepared themſelves with ſo much vigour to defend the Paliſades, that the next day, being five or ſix times aſſaulted by the Guards they could not be won.

The King returning to the Camp with the Cardinal, commanded, that whatever came on't, they ſhould paſs the Ditch; and this charge being given to the Sieur *de Guadagne*, he undertook it ſo couragiouſly, that breaking through the Counterſcarp, and deſcending into the Ditch with the Regiment of *Bourlemont*, thirty of the Cardinals Guards, and as many more commanded men with the Pioneers; they caſt up a Gallery, paſſed under the face of the Bulwark, and began their Mine, but they paid dear for this bold attempt, for they within defending

ſen ing themſelves moſt ſtoutly, almoſt all the Regiment of *Bourlemont*, and all the officers were ſlain. The *French* and *Swiſs* Guards lodged themſelves under the half-Moon which covered the face of the Bulwark towards the River, raiſing there a Battery of eleven Guns.

At the ſame time the Sieur *de Vitermont* drew a line of communication from his attack, to that of the Mareſchals *de Camp*. The Sieur *de Leboquet* went on with another near to the Counterſcarp on the right hand. *Vitermont* having finiſhed his on the left, went on with ſuch fury, that they lodged themſelves in the Counterſcarp, notwithſtanding the brave reſiſtance they met withal from the beſieged, who ſallying out to the number of 200 entred the Trenches, and began a hot skirmiſh

miſh with ſome loſs on both ſides: But *Braraman* with a battalion of *Swiſſers* beat them back into the Town; the next day they made another vigorous ſally, but were repulſed again with the loſs of thirty, and only four *French*.

The Count *de Grandpre* took a Lieutenant of the Regiment of *Iſembourg* Priſoner with his own hand, and preſented him to the King.

His Majeſty viſiting often the Trenches, and all the Poſts of the ſiege, and indefatigably continuing part of the night on horſback, to the wonder of every one, he excited no leſs the boldneſs then the zeal of the Captains, to that glory which is the ſoul of thoſe who profeſs Armes.

The *French* having entred the ditch of the half-Moon; the Sieur *de Varennes* Mareſchal *de Camp*,

Camp, assisted by *Guadagne*, (who as his particular friend, would by all means accompany him on that occasion with the Marine Regiment) they cast up a Traverse and began their Mine.

The Marquess *de Faber* entred the Foss of the cittadel in two other places; the *French* attaqued the Post of the *Maschio*, and planted a Battery to beat down the Defences of the opposite flank, notwithstanding the stout resistance made by the Garrison, in which Action the Sieur *de Ervillier* lost his life with several soldiers.

Braraman and Captain *Intorn* with the *Swissers*, made another Lodgement on the half-Moon; in this engagement the Cardinals Guards performed worthily.

The

The day after *Molandin* Colonel of the *Swiſſers* cut down the Palliſade, and opened to the Guards an entrance to the *Maſchio*, where they lodged themſelves, not regarding the continual hail of ſmall ſhot, and fireworks from the walls of the Cittadel.

The King and Cardinal were preſent at all theſe bold attempts, and by praiſing publickly the Captains and Souldiers, calling them by their names, he ſwelled them with ſuch ambition of honour, that every one ſtriving to be foremoſt in the moſt deſperate Encounters, they ſcared even Death himſelf.

The face of the Bulwark being opened by the Mine, the foremoſt ranks mounted upon the breach, and ſheltred themſelves within the Parapet.

The

The beſieged deſpairing to preſerve the Town any longer, held a conſultation, and with a joynt conſent of the other officers, the Governor ſounded a Parley, and capitulated upon honourable termes. Thus having ſtoutly defended it 36 days, after the trenches were opened, they marched out to the number of 300, and were convoyed to *Montmedy* in *Luxembourg*. The King left 600 men in Garriſon, under the Command of *Bourlemont* Mareſchal *de Camp*.

The *Spaniards* were pertinacious in the expugnation of *Arras*, where their whole Army being engaged, the Mareſchal *Turenne* encamped at *Mont Cypriano*, between *Doway* and *Arras* upon the *Scarpa*, making excurſions with great parties, to cut off and hinder the Convoys

voys to the *Spaniſh* Camp.

Notwithſtanding all which, the *Spaniards* continued the Siege (without being pinched of victuals) till they had made themſelves Maſters of all the outworks, in which ſervice both the officers and ſouldiers gave great proofs of their valour; for though they were ſtoutly defended by the *French*, yet in ſhort time they were gained by the *Spaniards*. Amongſt others, in particular the Vicount *de St. Martha* ſignalized himſelf in the taking of an outwork, whoſe extraordinary valour was admired even by his enemies; for although he was dangerouſly wounded in the head, he continued fighting more fiercely then ever, til he was taken priſoner by main force.

The Beſieged loſt many of their foot, which diſeaſes daily

dayly waſted, as well as the Sword; & there was ſcarce men left to do duty upon the guards.

At this time the Arch-Duke was certified that *Stenay* had capitulated, which newes was received with great regret, by reaſon that the Siege of *Arras* was undertaken upon the account of the *French*, being engaged before that Towne, from whence it was ſuppoſed they would not ſo ſoon extricate themſelves.

A Councel of warr was preſently held in the Arch-Dukes tent, where it was argued whether they ſhould perſiſt or quit the Siege.

Fuenſaldagna who was alwayes of opinion not to undertake the Siege, evidently foreſeeing the diaſtrous ſucceſs, propounded that they ſhould diſlodge before they incumbred themſelves in further danger, ſeeing

seeing that the King of *France* was coming in person with all his forces to their relief, which he said they could very hardly hinder, and there being no likelihood of forcing the Governour to a surrender, in those eight or ten days, that the Cardinal would be employed in assembling his troops together, he thought it expedient to raise the Camp with all speed. He added, that after the two Tenaglia's were taken, there remained yet a large Half-Moon, with two Defences in the counterscarp, which made another kind of Tenaglia, and though they did gain these (which would be very difficult for want of earth) they should meet with a deep Ditch full of water; and where the City-walls were weak, the undaunted and vigilant Governour had well lined them

them within. Beſides, that the Foot daily more and more mouldred away, aud the proviſions and ammunition in the Camp began to grow ſcarce, ſo that they could not continue the attacks with that vigour they were begun, and ſo much the leſs becauſe the ſouldiers by reaſon of their perpetual watchings and labour fell daily infirm.

This was contradicted, by objecting, that it was eaſie to diſcamp whenſoever they pleaſed; but before they did it they ſhould ſtay for the Kings nearer approach to ſee what he intended.

To this opinion adhered the Prince of *Conde*, to whom (as moſt underſtanding in Military affairs,) it did not appear that the lines were ſo eaſie to be forced, if they were maintained with

with due courage and vigilancy. The siege therfore was continu'd to the which the Prince applyed himself with unwearyed care. In this while the King came to *Perone*, where also arrived the Cardinal with all the Horse that had been before *Stenay*: five days after the Foot Commanded by Count *De Granpre*, and the Sieur *De Guadagne*; Against which the Prince of *Conde* appearing with 60 Squadrons of Horse, they covered themselves so well with their Waggons that they were not attcked, and came happily unto St. *Paul* the very day that it surrendred to Mareschal *Turenne*. With these Foot were also the Kings Guardes, who refusing to obey *Grandpre* and *Guadagne*, the Cardinal sent the Sieur *De Mondeverghe*, as the Kings Servant, for to compose the difference and to command them.

The

The leading of these forces in which were those belonging to the Court, was commited to the Mariſchal *De Hoquincourt*, a perſon as raſh and precipitous in his actions as unſtable in his Councels.

At *Peron* divers Councels of warr were held in the preſence of the King and Cardinal, and it was concluded, that *Hoquincourt* ſhould advance along the River, and poſſeſs himſelf of St. *Elias* Mount a neceſſary Poſt, for the better aſſaulting the lines; The Mount was accordingly attacked and taken, *Hoquincourt* encamping in the place called *Ceſars* Camp, a ſhort league from the lines. Here he barricadoed himſelf with Carriages and a ſlight Trench to defend himſelf, againſt the ſurprizes of the Prince of *Conde*; this

this quarter being ſevered from that of *Turenne* and *la Ferte Seneterre*.

Afterwards, it was reſolved on to view the lines, the better to diſpoſe the aſſault: Many were of opinion that they ſhould go with a ſtrong Body of Horſe; but *Turenne* would not have above 1000, thwarting the opinion of others, by the experience he ſaid he had of the diſcipline of the *Spaniards*, who would never move out of their Intrenchments, till they had debated the matter in Councel, in which time, he doubted not to take a perfect view of all before they were got to Horſe. *Turenne* therefore keeping the lower way, towards the quarters of *Don Fernando Solis*, he diſcerned with his own eye the enemies lines.

The *Spaniſh* Camp beginning to

to want provisions and ammunition. The Baron *De Batteville* was sent with 1500 horse to the Gates of *Aire*, and St. *Omers* to convey safe the Count *Buquoy*, who with 4000 foot was to bring a great quantity of Provisions to the Campe. But the arrival of *Hoquincourt* with 8000 men at *Cesars* Campe, by which the convoy must necessarily pass, occationed *Batteville* to be recalled with orders that every horsman should bring in croop what ammunition he could, and that the foot should remain in *Doway* till further order. This was done for two purposes; To unite the Army, and with the one half give battail to *Hoquincourt*, and with the other to face *Turenne*; or else discamp without Artillery and baggage; fighting all that should oppose them, but neither the one nor the

other was put in execution.

The *French* Generals having intelligence of these Motions, the Marquess *de Uxelles* was sent out to way-lay the convoy. But this notwithstanding, *Batteville* returned to the Camp with a bagg of powder and bullets behind every horsman, passing through the *French* Guards untouched.

The *Spanish* Generals called another Councel, where it was proposed again to abandon the Siege, some were of opinion that the Cavalry of *Batteville* were harrassed, and not in a condition to fight, in case the enemy should fall upon them in the rear, or in the flanck; so that they deferred to execute it till next day, and because it was suspected, that that night being the feast of St. *Lewis*, the *French* would assault their Trenches

Trenches: it was agreed on, that upon beating the alarm in the night every one ſhould ſtand to their Armes to aſſiſt their fellowes.

It belonged to *Don Fernando De Solis* to provide Guards for the approaches, for which reaſon his quarters were the weakeſt; of all this the *French* were advertized, for *Turenne* was got ſo near with his Trenches to the *Spaniſh* line, that they heard what they talked in either Camp.

The Cardinal having reſolved that they ſhould give the aſſault that night; Before Sun-ſet the Army was diſpoſed, as followeth

The forces of the three Mareſchals conſiſted of 16000 foot, and about 12000 horſe, amongſt which were almoſt all the Kings Guards, *French* and *Swiſſe*, ſome *Iriſh* foot, and above 4000 *German* horſe, the relicks

of those famous souldiers of the Duke of *Waimar*, all commanded by experienced Captains of great fame.

They left some souldiers in the Camp, many lighted Matches placed upon sticks, that the enemy might think them Musquetiers coming from many parts to assault them, and by that means every one standing upon his Guard should not run to help his Companion.

The Regiment of *Limousin* remained in a little Fort built at *Mouchy*, and Troops were disposed in all parts to give false Alarmes round the Circumvallation: The Attacks were ordered according to the Cardinals direction, approved on by all the Councel of Warre for the best, which was, that *Hoquincourt* should attaque the quarters of *Don Ferdinando de Solis*,

Solis neareſt to him; *la Ferte* that of *Lorrain* and the *Italians*; and *Turenne* the reſt, between *de Solis* and the Arch-Dukes quarters.

In order hereunto, the three Armies were drawn up after this manner.

Turenne's foot were led on by the Marqueſs of *Caſtelnau*, Count *Broglia*, the Sieur *de Paſſage*, all three Lieutenant-Generals, with *Furlauen* their Captain.

The right wing of the Horſe was commanded by the Sieur *de Bar*, and the left by the Sieur *de Eſcleinvillers*, with whom was the Duke of *York*, Brother to the King of Great *Britain*, my Lords *Gerrard*, *Barclay* and *Fermyn*, with others.

There were likewiſe three Battalions in reſerve, under the Command of the Marqueſs *Roncerolles*, and ſix ſquadrons of

French and *German* horſe, commanded by the Count *del Illebonne* of the houſe of *Guiſe*, Lieutenant General alſo, and with him the Sieur *de Moret*, and the Chevalier *de Gramont*, and other Voluntiers.

The Mareſchal of *Turenne*, attended by many Gentlemen, marched in the Van, and before him the forelorn Hope, commanded by the Sieur *de Belleſons* Mareſchal de Camp.

The Infantry of *la Ferte*'s Army was commanded by the Marqueſs *de Uxelles*, and *de Cœvre*; and the *French* Horſe by the Marqueſs *de Humieres*, and the Chevalier *de Chaunes*. The *German* Horſe by Colonel *Oem*; and theſe Lords were accompanied by the Marqueſs *della Sciatre*, and the Chevaliers *di Beveron*, *de Courſon*, *de Beraute*, and others.

In

In the Army of *Hoquincourt*, where the Count *d' Novailles* executed the place of Lieutenant General. The Foot were commanded by the Count *de Estree*, the Sieur *de Guadagne*, the Marquess *de Hoquincourt* and *de St. Abre*. The *Swissers* of the Guard were led by *Molandin* their Colonel.

The Count *de Grandpre* commanded the Horse, the Marquess *de Sely*, and *de Rieux* the light Horse and Cuiraisiers. The Sieur *de Montpau* with four Squadrons flanked the foreforn Hope led by the Marquess *de Beau*; in the Head of these march'd the Count *de Vivonne*.

The Marquess *de Tracy* with four Regiments of Horse, and two of selected foot, was ordered to approach the lines of the Prince of *Conde*, and assault

them half an houre after the onset, making account, that he hasting to succour his Companions, would weaken his own quarters, and by that means they might enter on that side.

Things being marshall'd in this order, each of the three Armies marched with five Battalions in the front, in the Head of which were the choicest Soldiers, and the forlorn-Hopes, with many *French* Gentlemen Voluntiers, the most bizarre and desirous of signalizing their valour in that occasion. As well the Horse as the Foot, and all the Officers and Gentlemen carried every one, some faggots, some mattocks, spades, and other things proper to fill up the ditches, cut down palisades, and scale the trenches.

The *French* approached the lines of the Enemies Camp with great

great silence, three houres before day the 25. of *August* dedicated to the honour of St. *Lewis*. *Hoquincourt* and *Guadagne*, though the last wounded in the Head with Musket-shot in taking a view of the works, advanced undauntedly to the quarters of *de Solis*, giving testimony by their furious assault, that they feared not death to acquire an immortal fame.

Hoquincourt with the Guards, and *Guadagne*, with five Battalions of foot, together with the Marques *de Estree*, and the Sieur *de St. Abre*, with other Commanders, falling on thus furiously in divers places, made themselves Masters of the lines where they stayd, as well to beat four squadrons of *Spanish* Horse which stood ready to repulse them, as to open a passage for

the *French*, which were to second them.

The first that entered was the Regiment of the Count *de Bougy* on that side where the Sieur *de Guadagne* had made way, and after *Hoquincourt* followed the company of the Queens *Gens de Armes*.

The horse being entered, they immediatly routed those of the *Spaniards*, then the Infantry drawing themselves into a Body, in stead of making a stand they marched strait towards *Arras*, and made a halt near the outworks expecting orders from *Hoquincourt*.

The Sieur *de Guadagne* only remained upon the line with his five Battalions, and set fire on the *Spanish* Hutts left the Soldiers falling to pillage should be routed by the Prince of *Conde*.

At the same time the Mares-

chal

chal *Turenne* assaulted the Trenches on the other side filling the Ditches with fagots, and opening a way by the Spade. Those who followed, without Loytering began to pull up the Pallisades. The Sieur *de Bellefons* with the forlorne forced a Barricade of renversed Carts, making way for the other Battalions, and laying all plain for the Cavalry.

The *Spaniards* had secured their Camp with pits five or six foot deep in Checky fashion, and fenced with sharp stakes to gall the horse, nevertheless the *French* passed over Couragiously with their foot, and made way for the Cavalry, *Esclainvilliers* entred with two Squadrons, and the Regiment of *Crequy* sustained by

by *Caſtlenau* with other Squadrons, by which meanes the *French* became Maſters of the *Camp*.

By this time day appeared, and the *Spaniards* finding that beyond the river the Alarms were falſe; The Arch-Duke paſſed to the Prince of *Conde's* quarters, who was on his March to aſſiſt thoſe that were attacked, and had already beat back *Hoquincourts* Troops, to the paſſage of a Bridg over a little brook which the *French* eſſayed to paſs to fall upon the *Lorrainers*.

The Mareſchal *de La Ferte*, not being able to paſs the lines which he attaqued, faced about and came to joyn with *Turenne*, and entering in at the ſame breach advanced with 12 or 14 Squadrons, to fall upon the Prince, who retired in great order

der with the broken troops which he had rallyed from ſeveral quarters, but he facing about made them retire, repulſing alſo all others that were ſo hardy to advance againſt him, and if the five ſquadrons of foot with which *Guadagne* made a ſtand upon the lines, had ſuſtained the Troops which the Prince had beat back, who apprehended the groſs of the Army to be there. The *French* by the diſorder of thoſe that went towards *Arras*, and had diſperſed themſelves to plunder, were in riſque to receive a great blow.

The Arch-Duke, the Count *de Fuenſaldagna*, the Count *de Curſis* and others, endeavoured to paſs the river by the Bridge, but finding it incumbred with foot, they were conſtrained with a few horſe to retire towards *Douay*. Thoſe

Thoſe who were on the other ſide of the River, which the *French* had not yet paſſed, endeavored to joyn with the Prince and retire with him to *Cambray*. The reſt who remained on this ſide, were the greateſt part knocked on the head, or taken Priſoners, but not ſo many as was reported:

At that inſtant, the Governour of *Arras* being advertiſed that there was great ſhooting towards the Mount *Elias*, and eſpying fire among ſome Hutts, he made no reckoning on't. ſuppoſing it had been cauſed by the great wind, and that the noiſe was occaſioned by Muskets ſet on fire; but others coming in, and affirming that they had ſeen the fire, and heard the Report of the Cannon, he preſently having given forth Orders to all the Poſts, prepared

to

to ſally out upon the enemy. He mounted ſuddenly upon the Ramparts, and hearing the trampling of Horſes along the Ditch, he called by his name the Officer that went the Rounds, and asked him, if he had heard any noiſe that way from whence he came, he anſwered, he had taken one that named himſelf Sieur *de Caſtelnau*, who at the ſame time hearing the Governours voice, cried out, that the ſuccours were entred the lines, and that he himſelf being at the Head of 4000 men, and advancing too far, was ſeparated from the reſt, and forced to retire towards the City.

The Governour immediatly commanded all the Cavalry to Horſe, and to march towards the lines which were attacked; whilſt they were opening the Gates, he heard the Sentinels on the walls cry out one to another, that

that a number of Horſe were advancing towards the Gate of *Baudemont*, whither he poſted ſpeedily, cauſed the Gate to be opened, and found them to be the Queens *Gens d' Armes*, the Regiment of *Villequier* and others.

The Sieur *della Salle*, Commander of the *Gens d' Armes*, and *Villequier* told him, that there was no more oppoſition on that ſide from whence they came, wherefore without delay, paſſing altogether through the city, and haſting towards that part where the Attack was made, they found divers bands of the enemies foot, which fled diſperſed here and there over the fields, who rendring themſelves without much reſiſtance, were ſent priſoners into the City. Diſcovering afterwards ſome ſquadrons, who were

drawing off in good order to joyn with others that hasted towards the River-side, from the quarters of the Prince of *Conde*: The Governour engaged them by light skirmishes, and followed them at a distance, half-way to *Monchy Breuil*, with design to keep them in a continual alarm, to hinder them from pillaging the Camp, in which was left store of baggage of good value, but seeing them bend to the right hand, and that all kept close to their main body, not finding himself strong enough to disorder them, he returned into the City, whither were already come the *French* Generals Triumphant. Of all the *Spanish* Generals the Prince of *Conde* only stayed in Camp, and made a handsome retreat, uniting together the straggling troops; In this Action the *Spaniards*

niards left about 2000 Men, *Don Gaſper Bonifacio*, the Marqueſs *Bentivoglio*, with the valorous Vicount *de Santa Marta* a Cavalier of Noble birth, and of great Hopes, with ſome others, were taken priſoners.

The *French* got 60 Pieces of Ordnance great and ſmall, the Generals Plate, all the baggage except what was purloin'd by their own ſouldiers, 25 Coaches, great ſtore of Horſes with the Equipage of all the other Officers; few of the *French* were loſt becauſe there was ſmall reſiſtance. After they had paſſed the Trenches, the only loſs they ſuſtained, was in the tough Conflict with the Prince of *Conde*.

Two Captains in the Regiment of *Geſures*, the Commander of the Regiment of *Humieres*, with ſeveral other Officers were

were slain. The Count *de Broglio* and the Duke of *York* were hurt. The Marquess *de Genlis*, and *d' Escleinvillers* had their Horses killed under them.

The Duke *de Joyeuse* Colonel General of the *French* Cavalry, first Peer and High Chamberlain, brother to the Duke of *Guise*, being wounded three days before in the Encounter at St. *Paul*, died the 27. of *September* following.

The Sieur *de Rohan*, who commanded the Foot in *Arras*, was also slain; the Sieurs de St. *Luc*, *de Sancerre*, *de Goranflos*, *de Offni*, and the Marquess *de Placot* died after the siege was raised.

The 28. following, their Majesties, the Duke of *Anjou*, and all the Court came to *Arras*; As they passed they were met

and

and saluted by the whole Army, the City made great Iubile upon their arrival, and *Te Deum* was sung for the great victory, so much the more remarkable and wonderful, by how much the lines of the *Spanish* Camp were so exactly defensible, that by all skilfull in the Art of warr they were held impregnable.

The Glory of the King was so much the more Illustrious, by how much the enterprize was difficult and unexpected, It being held impossible to take (as it were, in a breath) *Stenay*, and relieve *Arras*.

It was this happy success which made way for all the ensuing Victories. And, as it were, Fortunes Pledge that she had submitted to His Majesties vanquishing sword, and rendred her self tributary to the incompa-

rable

parable vertue of his chief Miniſter.

The Court ſtayed there till the laſt of *Auguſt*, which day they removed towards *Perone*, and thence to *Paris*. The Army remaining about *Inchy*, with deſign to make the Concluſion of that *Campania* as flouriſhing as the beginning.

Their Majeſties being arrived at *Compeigne*, were complemented in the name of the City of *Paris* by the Sieur *de Seve* their Provoſt, and by the Sieurs *di Boſſeau* and *Herſon* Sheriffs.

On the 4th. of *September* in the Evening, they entred *Paris* with loud acclamations of all the People, who if they had not been prohibited by the King, would have erected triumphant Arches

and

and prepared a reception suitable for so great and glorious a Monarch. They contained themselves therefore within the Prescriptions of Modesty, and the entrance was accompanied with so many Acclamations that gave to understand that he triumphed nevertheless in their hearts.

The Croud was so great, that the very House-tops were covered with people, the streets and windows not being capable to contain them.

The next day His Majesty with all the great men of the Court went from the *Louure* to *Nostredame*, to give thanks for that Victory, where *Te Deum* was sung with solemn Musick, and discharge of the Artillery. The people made Bonefires for three nights together.

Mazarine got great reputation to

to the dismay of his adversaries, and the more, for that by his indefatigable care, he was the Director of all this Affair. To compleat the victory before he went for *Paris*, summoning the Generals to Councel, it was ordained, that without delay, and before the Army grew less, they should take in *Quesnoy*, a place demolished the year before by the *Spaniards*, by reason it was situated in the heart of the Countrey.

In order to this *Turenne* departed from *Arras* the first of *September*, and passing the River *Escaut* with floating Bridges, he came the next day to *Sos*, from whence the Sieur *de Passage* advancing with 2000 Horse invested *Quesnoy*.

The Burgomaster and Inhabitants concluded to render themselves upon the Mareschals parole, who possessd himself

ſelf of this place, very convenient for his deſigns. He fortified it, and left there a ſufficient garriſon of foot and horſe under the command of the Sieur *d'Eſpence*, and peirced with his Army farther into the Country without finding any reſiſtance, over-running and forraging to the very Gates of their beſt Cities in *Flanders*.

They over-ran alſo a great part of *Brabant* without any oppoſition, But the Prince of *Conde* having increaſed his Army about *Mons* with ſome *Germane* Troops and the Militia of the Country, which readily came in for the common defence. The *French* retreated to *Queſnoy*, to make good that place of ſo great importance, which being ſeated upon the *Eſcaut* between the *Scheld* and *Sambra*, and between *Valenciennes* and *Landrelet*, opened

opened a paſſage into the very bowels of the Low-Countreys. This did much incommodate the *Flemings*, wherefore the Prince with the *Spaniſh* Army, marched that way to ſee if he could recover it again.

It concerned alſo the King of *France* to keep it; wherefore on the 23. of *September*, he returned to *la Fere*, and from thence to St. *Quintin*, and to the Frontier. This March was as well to adde new mettle to his Army, and to give a ſtop to thoſe who in his abſence are wont to quit the field; as to hinder *Conde* from advancing further, and chiefly to furniſh *Queſnoy* with all ſort of Proviſions, which was conducted thither in great quantity.

And although by reaſon Winter drew near, it ſeemed time to give refreſhment to the troops,

rather then to harraſe them a-new.

The Cardinal, not content to have ſuccoured *Arras*, taken *Stenay*, *Queſnoy*, and pillaged half *Flanders*; he deſired to finiſh that glorious *Campania* with ſome other conſiderable Conqueſt.

VVhereupon he bent his thoughts upon *Clermont*, a very ſtrong place, lying between *Liege* and *Limbourg* not far from the *Moſe*, upon a little Hill.

He reinforced the troops of the Marqueſs *de Uxelles*, firſt Lieutenant General of the Mareſchal *la Ferte Seneterre*'s Army, to whom he committed the care of that enterprize.

The Marqueſs marched with all diligence to *Guiſe*, from whence he ſent the Sieur *de la Fuite* with part of the Cavalry to inveſt the place, and fol-

lowed

lowed after himself.

He encompassed it on every side with great numbers of horse and foot: the fifth of *November* he broke ground against the half-Moon called *de Paniers*; He made two Attacks, one at the Suburbs, the other at the Wood; and the same night the Miners went to work under the Palisades. In this Action they had a hot engagement with the besieged who defended themselves with much courage. They assaulted also the *Tenaille* about the fort of the Church, where were wounded 8 or 10 Souldiers with the Sieur *Tomaso*, Lieutenant to the Master *de Camp*.

After this they lodged themselves upon the Counterscarp, & tried at the same time to possess themselves of the half-Moon,

and began to batter the fort of the Church. The Regiment of *Mazarine* got upon the bank of the Ditch, made themselves Masters of the Palisade, and dislodged the Defendants from the covertway by throwing Granadoes, lodging themselves there, notwithstanding the continual firing of the besieged.

Having finished the line of Communication, they assaulted the Fort of the Church, which was won by Lieutenant Colonel *Paillet*, taking in it 60 prisoners, who had resisted stoutly with Muskets and Granadoes.

The day after the gaining of this Fort, the Mareschal *de la Ferte* came to the Camp with other Troops, since there was no more fear of *Conde*'s forces to give them succours, because the great scarcity of forrage had

had conſtrained him to keep at a diſtance.

The Mareſchal immediately ſecured the Fort of the Church. The 9th. of *November* at night the Regiments of *Uxelles* and *Burgundy* entred the Counterſcarp of the Half-Moon; and two Batteries were raiſed on the ſide of the wood, to beat down the Defences, and diſmount the cannon of the Fort, which infeſted the *French*.

They made a lodgement capable of 300 foot, between the two little half-Moons which commanded the way from the ſuburbs to the Caſtle.

They drew a traverſe to unite the lodgments, and began their Mines and Galleries, not without ſome loſs of men by the Granadoes and fire-works, which poured from the walls.

They wrought hard at the

lodgements of the two Attacks and the Mines, they repaired again the Galleries, ruined a little before by the Cannon. And on the 11th. the Mine of the Half-Moon of the Wood ſprang, not according to the wiſhed ſucceſs, which prevented the *French* from making themſelves Maſters of it, being too much expoſed to the Enemies ſhot. But notwithſtanding the great oppoſition, they lodged themſelves a little below, where the Sieur *de Pleſſis* Lieutenant of the ſame Regiment, though hurt, maintained the Poſt until the Work was compleated.

About twenty ſouldiers were killed and wounded in this Attack, with ſome Officers, and the works being proſecuted with greater vigour; the Mine was begun under the Half-Moon:

Pal-

Villiet forced back the Enemies Court of Guard, and nailed a Canon which greatly incommoded the Gallery. They began the Mine towards the middle of the town on the Woods ſide, ſo that all being in a readineſs, and the Mines out of danger of being rendred uſeleſs. The Mareſchal cauſed to be intimated to the beſieged, *That if they had not a minde to be blown into the Air, they ſhould render themſelves.*

The Count *de Souvilles* Governour of the Town, with conſent of the other chief Officers, capitulated to deliver up the place; and on the 27th. of *November* there marched out 180 ſouldiers, and 60 Officers, without armes and baggage, and were convoyed by the Kings troops to *Montmedy*.

The Mareſchal would not behold them as they marched out, to manifeſt his diſdain of thoſe who had rebelled againſt their King; *Brulle*, Lieutenant of Dragoons entred into *Clermont* with 400 ſouldiers to keep it; and afterwards the Army was ſent to their winter-quarters, about St. *Menehaud*, *Reims* and *Chalons*. The *Spaniſh* troops, and *Turenne*, being in like manner retired into quarters. But before this year was ended, another handſome Action was performed by the Count *de Broglia* Governour of *la Baſſee*.

Having drawn together a body of 1200 Horſe, and as many foot out of the adjacent Garriſons with four Pieces of Cannon; He attacked about Midnight the 23. of *December* the Fort of the Abbey of *Bercleu*, (a Poſt occupied by the *Spaniards*,

urds, and defended with a deep ditch and half-Moons) and after some houres resistance by the Sieur *de Bassencourt* Colonel of Foot (who commanded there) with 450 men, he was forced to render at discretion, and sent prisoner to *la Bassee*.

Charles Campy Governour of *Lille*, and Commander of all the Posts thereabouts, hearing of this loss, withdrew suddenly his souldiers from the other places on the river, and went with them to *March* in *Barevil* betwixt *Tournay* and *Armentiers*, leaving the *Lorrainers* at *Lens*.

The *French* made excursions as far as the suburbs of St. *Peters* of *Lille*, and worsted some few Horse of *Don John de Moroys* Regiment; they made also an attempt upon *Lens*, from whence the *Lorrainers* were departed to joyn with the troops which

Campi was rendezvouzing near *Doway*; they assaulted with great bravery the out-works, and won them, but not being able to pass the Ditch so suddenly, and hearing that a great Body of the Enemies was coming towards them, they quitted the fortifications they had taken, and returned to their quarters, yet not before they had got much booty in the Countrey, which they over-ran to the very Gates of *Lille*.

A little before the *French* besieged *Stenay*, and the *Spaniards Arras*; it hapned that the Magazine of Powder at *Graveling* being accidentally blown up, by which much mischief was done; and by reason several souldiers were drawn out of the Town, the Garrison was much weakned, so that in *Philips* Fort a quarter of a league distant, there

there were only 60 foot to guard it, which invited the Count *des Charoſt*, Governour of *Callice*, to try if he could ſurprize it. To that purpoſe he drew 500 foot out of his own Garriſon, and that of *Ardres* with two troops of Horſe. And on the 16. of *Iuly* he unlooked for, ſtormed it in four places, and took it, ſtraitning by that Poſt that moſt important fortreſs, and facilitating the gaining of it, as ſhall be related.

The Affairs of the Low Countreys ſtanding in this condition, the Warre went on alſo in *Catalogna*. Where the Prince of *Conty* being declared Viceroy and Captain-General, and having made preparation of all things neceſſary in *Languedoc* and *Roſſiglion* for ſome notable enterprize, with the advice of his Captains, he reſolved upon the Attaquing of

of *Villa Franca* in *Conflans*, but the ſmallneſs of his force ſeemed a great obſtacle to his deſigns; it being a place of good ſtrength and of difficult acceſs.

It being ſeated in the middeſt of the *Pirenean* Mountaines in a valley, between two great Hills which ſo ſurround it, that in many places a man can hardly paſs by reaſon of the cragged and precipitous paths, & ſo high that the city ſeems as it were buried in a heap of Maſſy ſtones.

Towards the *South* it is inacceſſable, girt with Cliffes and Craggy Mountaines; On the *North* it is waſhed with the rapped river *Latel*; on the Eaſt it opens a little towards *Perpignan* with a ſmall plain towards the river ſide; on the right hand it is encompaſſed with gardens, a little diſtance from

from the Walls which are terminated by three or four houſes in ſtead of Suburbs; on the Weſt is a Birdge leading to the Convent of the *Franciſcans*. The walls are garniſhed with ſome Towers which flanck the Suburbs, and on every ſide ſtrengthened with modern fortifications: There were 400 foot in Gariſon with 50 officers beſides the Inhabitants, and proviſions and ammunition for a long Siege.

Theſe inconveniences but little diſcouraged the Generous minde of the Prince, reflecting upon the great benefit which the gaining of this City would bring to the *French*, it commanding all the Country of *Conflans*, where, they might (without burthening the County of *Roſſiglion*) expect recruits from *Guienne*, and open the paſſage

passage of *Cerdagna*.

The 26th of *June* the Count *de Boussy* Collonel of the light horse, blocked up the Castle of St. *Michael*, to hinder that Garrison from molesting the convoyes to the campe, and thence fetching a compass about the Mountains, he pass'd to the other side, and put 120 foot with some horse into *Comellia* to hinder the *Spaniards* passag from *Campreden*; After this he possessed himself of the topps of the mountaines, betwixt this place and *Fovilles*. But in advancing to *Pilles* there happened a skirmish with the *Michelotts*, (so they call certaine armed people in their Country) who not having sufficient to live in their own houses, betake themselves to depredation.

The *Spaniards* at this newes passed

paſſed the River, the *French* did the ſame and came to Blowes, where the *Spaniards* had the worſe loſing ſome horſe, and ſome officers and ſoldiers taken priſoners, among whom *Don Ioſeph de Haſſa* Commiſſary General of the Troops, called *dellos ordines*, *Balandau* Comm.ſſary General of the *Burgundians*, with other Captaines and officers, many horſe died through exceſſive heat, and the Baron *di Butier* with ſome few of his men ſaved themſelves in *Ampuries*.

The *French* loſt there many Soldiers and divers officers; The Prince of *Conty* in the meane time having conducted (though with great difficulty) the Artillery from *Perpignan*, began with their diſcharge, and with approaches to Moleſt them ſo that

that not being able to receive any ſuccour of men, of which they ſtood moſt in need, they were conſtrained to ſurrender.

The *French* after this victory went at the end of *July* into *Ampardam*. Colonel *Baltaſſer* with a thouſand ſelected Horſe, encountred a party of the Enemies Cavalry, near the City of *Verges*, and broke them, taking 400 horſe, and lodged afterwards in *Belliaria*, *Verges*, *Torrella*, *Tallada* and *Ulla*.

The Prince of *Conty* and the Duke of *Candale* arriving about that time, went to *Torrella* where they ſtayed till the end of *Auguſt*, and then changed quarters, paſſing to St. *George* of *Collomer* and *Servia*, with deſign to beſiege *Puicerda*, the moſt important place at that time for the advancing the Warre in thoſe parts, and maintaining the Army

my in the Enemies countrey. This Town not only facilitated the eſtabliſhing of their winter quarters, but alſo rendred them Maſters of the County of *Cerdagna* a large countrey, and one of the biggeſt Provinces of *Catalogna*, beſides poſſeſſing themſelves of the Mountains they might carry the War as far as *Barcellona*, and ſecure by that means the County of *Conflans* and *Roſſiglion*. Theſe Reaſons had moved them to this Enterpriſe, even from the beginning of the *Campania*, but the neceſſity of relieving *Roſes* had put a ſtop to it till this time.

In order hereunto four Pieces of Cannon, were ſent directly to *Capſin*, to be conveyed into *Cerdagna*. The Count *de la Serra* arrived there before the Artillery, and the Prince himſelf was upon his March with all the Army,

Army; but falling ſick betwixt St. *George* and *Banioles*, he was forced to be carried to *Perpignan*.

The Duke of *Candale* was left to command the Army, and continued his March from *Banioles* the 23. of *September* to *Argliarguer*, and the next day to *Aulot*: by the way he cauſed *Don Manuel de Aca*, to attack the Church of *Embas*, where was a *Spaniſh* Garriſon which rendred themſelves: and on the 25th. they encamped nigh *Campredon*: The Count *de Merenville* was ſent with part of the troops to S. *John de las Badeſſas* and *Ripolle*, to poſſeſs himſelf of thoſe places held by the *Spaniards*, but to no purpoſe, being valiantly repulſed. The Army marching forwards on the 29th. of *September* they came within ſight of the city, as alſo the Ca-

valry

valry *d' Aubeterre*, who in his paſſage with the Canon took *Caſtlevolador* and *Capſir.*

The Prince being perfectly recovered of his indiſpoſition, returned into *Cerdagna* the 10th. of *October*; and on the 13th. the ſiege of *Puicerda* was begun

This City is pleaſantly ſeated in a fertile ſoile, ſurrounded with a number of Houſes of Pleaſure, and large Villages, encompaſſed by the *Pireneans*, which raiſe their Heads about it towards *Conflans*, as farre as *Balvert*, a valley four *Catalonian* leagues in length, and one in bredth, at the entrance whereof appeareth the City upon a pleaſant Hill, which on the Weſt and North-ſide extendeth it ſelf to the *Pireneans*, and declines inſenſibly from the foot of the wall towards the Eaſt. The River *Segre* runs by it,

yet

yet but little, being near its ſource. It was encompaſſed with divers half-Moons, Tenaglia's, and other fortifications, and there commanded as Governor, *Don Pietro Valenzuola* with a Garriſon of twelve hundred foot, a troop of Horſe, and divers reformed Officers, and about 900 others, between Citizens and Peaſants fled thither for ſafety. The *French* made two Attacks with trenches, the one near the Prince of *Conty*'s quarters, where aſſiſted the Count *de Marienville* firſt Lieutenant-General; and the other by the quarters of the Duke of *Candale*; in which commanded *Don Ioſeph Margarit* ſecond Lieutenant-General.

The Aſſaults were bold and furious, and the Defence as brave. But finally, the Governour being killed, the other officers

ficers on the 27th. of *October*, 1654. capitulated for a ſurrender. There marched out *Don Alfonſo de Villar* with his troop of Horſe, *Don Tomaſo de Bagnoli* with a *Tertia* of *Spaniards*, *Ghirardin* with a Regiment of *Iriſh*; *Quarenna*, with another of *Germans*, and *Lutani* with another of *Neapolitans*, as alſo the Militia of *Conca de Trems*. Upon their coming forth the *Iriſh* Regiment quitted the *Spaniards*, and took pay under the *French*.

After this ſurrender, the Prince of *Conty* ſent *Don Ioſeph Margarit* with 500 foot and 30 Horſe, commanded by the Count *de Bougy* to take *Urgel*. He ſpeedily haſted thither, and the 900 Horſe that under the Command of *Ferdinando Gallo* lay before the town, without attending him retired.

Margarit treated with the Ma-

Magistrates of the City, they causing the people to take Arms, turned out the Serjeant Major *Fritaldo* with the 200 foot which were there in Garrison, and brought in the *French* at the same time. The Sieur *de Tily* also with other troops and two pieces of Cannon took *Bellver*, *Don Joseph de Ardena* seized on *Ripolle* and *Campredon*, so that this year 1654. was very prosperous for the *French* in *Catalonia*

This *Campania* being ended, the Prince of *Conty*, and the Duke of *Candale* returned to *Perpiniano*, leaving the Command of the Army to the Counts *de Marinville* and *de Bougy*, both of them Lieutenant Generals, who marched with all their troops against the City of *Vic*, and failed but a little of surprizing it: but for

for want of intelligence of the ſtate of the place, not daring to attack it, they retired into the Countrey *d' Aulot*, and thence to *Campredon*, where they put their men into Winter quarters.

The reſt of this year there hapned nothing of conſideration but the dangerous ſickneſs of the Pope, which in the begianing of the next carried him into the other world. Whereby the perfecting of many buſineſſes were broke off, and particularly the overtures for a Peace between the two Crowns, in theſe laſt years of his Pontificate, proſecuted with much zeal by his Nuncio's in *France* and *Spain*; for the underſtanding whereof, reſuming what was managed in the beginning of the Year 1653

we

we ſhall proceed to relate whatever happened till the end of his Life.

The Popes Nuncio and the *Venetian* Embaſſador in *Madrid* repreſented to *Don Lewis de Haro*, the great neceſſitie of a General peace throughout all *Chriſtendom*, and inſiſted, that he would effectually interpoſe to bring it to a concluſion.

Don Lewis expreſſed an ardent deſire to cooperate as much as in him lay to ſo good a work, and promiſed to ſpeak to the King as ſoon as he ſhould be returned from the Park. He was as good as his word, and aſſured them of the ſame good inclination in the King, as himſelf had.

The Nuncio in the meane time received letters from Monſignor *de Bagno* Nuncio in *France*, which adviſed him that the *Venetian* Embaſſador having re-

repreſented to the Count *di Brienne* chief Secretary of State, the orders which he had, inceſſantly to preſs for a peace betwixt the two Crownes, he had aſſured him that the King was alwayes ready, willingly to embrace the propoſals that ſhould be made him by the mediators.

To the ſame ſence the *Venetian* Embaſſador writt to his Colleague at *Madrid*; and as the Nuncio and the Embaſſador went hand in hand in this affaire, they in company together the 4th of *February* viſited *Don Lewis*, and imparted to him what they had received from *France* concerning this propoſition.

After a long diſcourſe by which they diſcerned the propention of *Don Lewis*, to this publique benefit of Chriſtendome, they concluded that in the firſt place, they muſt ſecure

the safety of the Couriers; and of this they should give notice into *France*, as accordingly they did.

From *Paris* it was replied, that to adjust the treaty, it would be necessary to sever the concerns of the Prince of *Conde*, from those of the two Crowns, which represented to *Don Lewis*, he ever answered with quick resentment that of this they should cease to speak, for his Catholick Majestie would rather loose all his Kingdomes then abandon the interest of that Prince.

The Nuncio seeing them well-disposed for a peace, he advertized the Nuncio in *France*, and the Pope, his Holyness answered that they should renew their instances, declaring the earnest desire that he had for an universal Peace.

The Nuncio and the *Venetian* Embassador, who also had the same

ſame inſtructions from his Maſters, reſolved Unanimouſly to ſpeak again with the cheif Miniſter, as they did.

After prolix diſcourſes, *Don Lewis* his anſwer was in ſubſtance this, that *Portugal* ſhould be quite left out of the treaty, with whom his moſt Chriſtian. Majeſty having at that time no alliance, the propoſition ought not to appeare extravigant: As to eſpouſe their quarrel in this conjuncture would argue no inclination to the preſent Treaty.

That his Catholick Majeſtie could not in any wayes forſake *Lorraine* nor *Conde*, and that he would rather wave any other Intereſt of his Crown, then to faile theſe Princes, of his Royal word and Protection: yet true it is, his Majeſty would not be Iudge of their pretentions, but only protect them to the

they might obtain ſuch reaſonable conditions as they or their Commiſſioners ſhould at any time agree upon. As to all other concerns of his Crown, they ſhould finde all the facilitie anſwerable to the good diſpoſition which his Majeſty had, towards a happy concluſion of this negotiation.

This in ſubſtance was the anſwer of *Don Lewis*, which the Nuncio imparted not only to his Holyneſs, but alſo to the Nuncio at *Paris*.

An anſwer was returned from *France*, as well to the Nuncio as the Embaſſador, which they communicated to *Don Lewis*; But they Modified and ſmoothed ſome paſſages which might in any wayes have obſtructed the treaty. And preſſing others with more or leſs earneſtneſs, according as they ſaw them

them more or leſs conduceable to the Treaty. The firſt to moderate, not only in ſubſtance but in forme, alſo thoſe three propoſals made by *Spain*, about *Portugal*, *Lorraine*, and *Conde*.

The ſecond to agree upon a limitted conference for three months only; either in the *Pirenians* or the confines of *Flanders*, as ſhould be thought moſt convenient.

The Nuncio endeavoured to avoyd the word meeting, which the Miniſters of *Spain* conceiv'd to be a word of Subterfuge obtruded by the Miniſters of *France*. They doubting by that ſpetious pretence of a meeting, they intended only to conciliate the liking and good will of the People; from whom the two Kings might with leſs repugnancy ſqueeze mony, and under colour of deſiring peace, provide

themselves without noise of all things necessary for the continuance of the warr.

He also strongly insisted for a cessation of Armes, esteeming without this all treatys fruitless, for the daily alterations which accidents of warr produce.

First, he represented that it seemed strange to *France* that they should be backward in the redintegration of *Lorraine*, and the accomodation of *Conde*, and leave out *Portugal*; In which both the Nuncio and the Embassador endeavoured to shew that this was in effect to begin with the accessories, and neglect the Principals; That they ought to begin as hath been alwayes observed, with the concerns of the Crowns, which make the Principal figure, and they being composed, the others follow

follow of courſe. But if the differences of the dependers ſhould be firſt adjuſted. The General peace would not a jot be the nearer concluſion, as it fell out in the treaty of *Munſter*, about the adjuſting of the *Swedes* with the Emperor, and the *Hollanders* with the *Spaniards*.

To this *Don Lewis* anſwered, that *France* moved this difficulty only to ſowe diſtruſt in the mindes of *Lorraine* and *Conde*, who ſeeing no antecedent declaration made in their behalf, might well doubt of that faith which his moſt Catholicke Majeſty had promiſed them, and which till this time had been inviolably obſerved.

The Nuncio replyed, both by the example of other Treatyes, and by ſhewing him that all might be eaſily redreſſed

by assuring those Princes that nothing should be done in their prejudice; and by admitting their Agents to be present at the Treaty, under the shadow and protection of the Plenipotentiaries of the Crowns, and innumerable other Expedients. Thus after a long Agitation they proposed the other point about the limitation of the conference shunning the word Meeting.

Don Lewis having much exalted His Majesties intentions, extreamly inclinable to this glorious work, and also professing his own good Wishes towards it, answered, that such a Conference would be the same thing as a Meeting, to amuse the people of *France* with hopes of a Peace, who although they would clearly be convinced, when they should see nothing con-

concluded within the time limited; nevertheleſs, it will redound to the advantage of *France*; for the time being expired, they might demand a Prorogation, which not obtaining, they might divulge that *Spain* would not condeſcend to what might produce a Peace, and ſo ſtill bring about their intent of gaining the good-will of the people, to bring them willingly to ſubmit to great Contributions for the carrying on of the VVar.

But in oppoſition to this the Nuncio repreſented, that by not conſenting to this Expedient of a Conference, his Majeſty would much empair that good opinion among his ſubjects; and all the world of his true and real Piety, and Chriſtian-like deſire of Peace: whereas *France*, yielding to all thoſe means which

might conduce to this end, the fault will be undoubtedly ascribed to others.

This matter was a long while discussed, and it was resolved on, that *Don Lewis* should speak to the King.

The Nuncio with the *Venetian* Embassadour returned to *Don Lewis* in the beginning of *January* 1654. to receive an Answer to what was discoursed on the days before; and they had scarce opened their Mouths, when *Don Lewis* replied, that new Emergencies had hapned in that Affair. For by Letters out of *Flanders* of the 6th. of *December*, the Count *de Fuensaldagna* had given him notice, that one Colonel *Vandi* coming to the Frontiers to treat about the ransome of some *French* taken prisoners at *Schiann*. The Colonel had signified to him, that he had

had a Credential Letter from Cardinal *Mazarin*, by vertue of which he had power to agree upon a ſecret Conference, between his Eminency and the Count; and that this their Meeting was thought ſo neceſſary, that without it *Mazarin* was of opinion, that the Negotiation of the Nuncio and the *Venetian* Embaſſador at *Madrid* would be of no effect. And although they ſeemed to have ſome knowledge of what *Don Lewis* told them; yet he ſhewed them all the Letters of the Count *de Fuenſaldagna*, and one in particular of the 13th. in which he ſaid that he had accepted of the Meeting, upon condition though, that it ſhould be publick, not to cauſe ſuſpition in their Allies. To which effect he had acquainted the Arch Duke,

and

and the Sieurs *de Lenet* and *de St. Martin* who were in that Court, the one on the behalf of the Prince of *Conde*, and the other of the Duke of *Lorrain*; ſo *Don Lewis* told them, that for this reſpect he could not as yet give them any anſwer to what they had diſcourſed the firſt of *January*, he being of opinion, that they ſhould expect the iſſue of that conference: The Nuncio and Embaſſador continued in hopes of receiving ſome News by the firſt Letter from *Flanders*, or perhaps by ſome Expreſs.

The Pope diſpatched a Courier to the Nuncio, and a Brief to be preſented to the King, and another for *Don Lewis*, exhorting them with moſt earneſt reaſons to a Peace.

Theſe Briefs were preſented by the Nuncio, and the King hearkened

hearkning with particular attention, to what the Nuncio on this occaſion repreſented to him, anſwered, that he knew full well the great damage that all *Chriſtendom* ſuffered by this war, with ſo much advantage to the Turk: and that for his part he ſhould always make it appear how prone he was to a Peace, and deſired him to aſſure his Holineſs as much, and that he would not let ſlip one moment that might forward the Treaty, repeating the word moment twice over.

The Nuntio, together with the Embaſſador, came again to urge the Requeſt of the Pope, and Republick of *Venice*, to ſee if they could bring them to ſome reſolution, and more particular anſwer. So ſoon as ever *Don Lewis* eſpied them, he told them he had received News from

from *Flanders* of great importance, and causing suddenly his Secretary to be called, he bid him bring him two Letters, the one from *Brussels* of the 25th. the other from *Paris* of the 17th. of *January* 1654. which being in *French* he caused to be explained in *Italian*; in these he was advertized of a conspiracy discovered, to seize upon the Arch-Duke, kill the Count *de Fuensaldagna*, and to deliver up to the *French* some places in *Flanders*, for this reason the Abbot *Mercy*, and some others suspected in this conspiracy, were imprisoned.

But yet he said, he did not believe that their Majesties or the Cardinal were privy to it in the least imagination, not being able to perswade himself, for the opinion he had of their Piety, that they had tampered

pered in any faſhion.

He added, that notwithſtanding this, his Catholick Majeſty would not ceaſe to ſtudy all means poſſible for to promote the Peace. Some time after the Nuncio and Embaſſadour returned again to *Don Lewis*, repeating their requeſts with great vehemency.

To which at length he finally anſwered, that His Majeſty above all things in this world deſired the Peace, and that he would not ſhun a Meeting, nor any other way to bring it to paſs, provided there were a Moral Certainty, that it was not intended for any by-end. Affirming that of all this they might aſſure themſelves, and write it into *France*, yet he forbore not

to tell them by way of condoling, that the *French* did not apply themselves to the Peace with such forwardness as they made shew of, seeing that after the Proposal made by the Cardinal for a private Conference, (as first of all necessary, otherwise all Applications would prove fruitless) and that it was accepted of by the Count *Fuensaldagna*, and participated to the Arch-Duke. There was no more talk on't, but on the contrary a Conspiracy was discovered against the Count to disturb the Treaty, or at least to start cavils that might cause delays.

About this time it was proposed in the Diet at *Ratisbone*, that the Emperour and the Princes of the Empire should be the Mediators for the Peace, which the Nuncio and the Embassadour

baſſador imparted to their Colleagues at *Paris*.

Theſe Treaties went on till the News arrived in *Spain*, of the Marriage of *Donna Olympia*'s Neece with one of the *Barberins*, of whom at that time this Crown was in diffidence; and hearing of the Artifices uſed by the Pope, not only to keep it ſecret, but alſo to palliate it with divers pretexts, and even poſitively to deny to Cardinal *Triculzio* that there was any ſuch Treaty. He began to loſe among the *Spaniards* that truſt and confidence, which is requiſite in a Mediator, and ſo all the inſtances which were never intermitted by the Nuncio and the Embaſſador of *Venice* vaniſhed, and they could never bring their buſineſs to any effect, though they were ſtill heard with the ſame civility.

VVhilſt

Whilst this Treaty was in Agitation; and before the *Spaniards* laid siege to *Arras*, by means of the Marquess *de Castelnau*; The Affair of the Count *de Harcourt* was adjusted upon the delivery of *Erisac* into the Kings hands, with this Condition, that the Count, after the choosing of 400 *French* or *Germane* souldiers out of that Garrison for his Government of *Philipsbourg*. The rest of the officers and souldiers were to march out the first of *June* whether they pleased; but in case they would continue in his Majesties service, the Regiment of *Carlevois* should have their quarters in *Alsatia*, as also the *Germans* and the Troop of Horse, till they had fixt a new Agreement with the King. The 32000 Pistols should be paid to the said *Carlevois*, and the souldiers

diers then in Garriſon, *viz.* 22000 in *Baſil*, and 10000 in *Briſac* into the hands of *Carlevois*, two days before he with the Garriſon were to march out of Town; He giving a Releaſe under his Hand. And of his quitting of his Office of Lieutenancy in that Town, in what forme His Majeſty pleaſed.

The Marqueſs *de Caſtelnau* promiſed the Count *de Harcourt* in the Kings Name, that until he had treated with the Court about the Government of *Alſatia* and *Philipshourg* there ſhould be one thouſand Piſtols a month paid him as well for his ſtipend of Governour of that Province, as for the payment of his Guards, promiſing him withal

withal that he ſhould receive 5000 Piſtols at *Strasburgh*, ſo ſoon as he left *Briſack*. He aſſured him beſides, that ſo ſoon as Hoſtages ſhould be given, there ſhould be delivered him the Kings Declaration in his favour, and of all the reſt that had ſerved him in that occaſion, which ſhould *in terminis*, be verified in the Parliament of *Paris*, ſimply without any alteration or Modification, and according to the Copy conſigned to him, where the ſaid Count *Harcourt* and all his Party named in the Declaration were pardoned, for whatſoever they had acted againſt his Majeſties ſervice all that time. And that ſo ſoon as the Marqueſs ſhould enter *Briſac*, the Count *de Harcourt* ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of all his Government of the upper and lower

Alſatia,

Alsatia, and of his Office of Great Bailiff *de Hagenau*, peacefully enjoying for the time to come, all the priviledges and advantages as he had done before.

For security of this Capitulation they gave Hostages: On the part of *de Harcourt* his eldest son the Prince *de Armagnac*, with the Baron *de Merlug*, to be consigned into the hands of the Magistrate of *Basil*; and the Baron *de l' Aubespine*, the Marquess *de Arson*, and the Sieurs de *Valcourt* and *de Hautechamp* into the hands of the Marquess *de Castelnau*, *Carlevois* gave for Hostages to *Castelnau* the Sieurs *de Ravalliac* Lieutenant Colonel of his Regiment, with two Captains, the Sieurs *de Bourmalo* and *della Gragne*. The *Germanes* consigned the Lieutenants *Sebaldi* and *Schnid*.

The

The Marquiſs *de Caſtlenau* gave for Hoſtage his wife, his Siſter and the Sieur *de Forneaux*, *de Beſmault*, and *la Neville* to be put into the hands of the Magiſtracy of *Baſil*, till ſuch time that the money was payd, and the Count *de Harcourt* put in poſſeſſion of *Philipsbourg*. That the Sieurs *de Beſmault* and *de La Neville* ſhould remaine in the power of Count *Harcourt*, till the ſecond declaration ſhould be delivered him, with the Kings letters Patents ratified in Parliament, according to the agreement in the former Articles, and in caſe of contravention of either ſide, the Hoſtages in cuſtody of the Magiſtracy of *Baſil*, ſhould be delivered up to thoſe with whom faith was not kept. By vertue of this capitulation all things were preciſely obſerved, and the Marquiſs *de St. Geniz* was placed

ted in the Government of *Briſac*, with a ſufficient Garriſon.

With theſe turnings of fortune, the almoſt loſt City of *Arras* being relieved by the *French*, and the *Spaniards* driven from the Siege of *Roſes*. The Cardinal finding it a fitt time to put in execution his premeditated deſignes upon the Kingdome of *Naples*, haſtned out the Fleet for that expedition.

The Duke of *Guiſe* having been in *Province* from the beginning of *October*, and received at *Marſelles*, and in all other places with honours due to his quality, he found things not as yet in a condition to ſecond his intentions, and chiefly the Naval Preparations very backward, either by the negligence of the Officers, or for want of money

money which at that time was very ſcarce. *Guiſe* not diſcouraged quickened them what he could to begin as ſoon as might be his Voyage.

The King diſpatched away requiſit orders for maturing this deſign, which though it did not afterwards meet with it's deſired effect, (if we will not quarrel with the Heavens for unpropitious weather) We muſt lay the fault on thoſe who did not punctually execute their orders rather then on thoſe who gave them.

The King purpoſed that the Fleet ſhould carry five or ſix thouſand men into *Calabria*, where (by the Inteligence they were in hopes to receive) they ſhould have ſome City betrayed to them, and thus getting footing they might introduce and keep up the warr in that King-

dome

Rome. This was not difficult to be effected, if they could convey their men listed in *Rome*, into *Abruzzo* and *Calabria*, where they would probably be seconded by a great part of the People, and many of the Nobility, exasperated by the severe Government of the Vice-Roy, the Count *de Ognate*, who applyed himself to depress the most potent, and to foment the hatred of the Vulgar against the Nobility to embroyle them, and with more security govern them.

The King reiterated his orders into *Provence*, that they should set Sayle with all speed. and commanded to imbark as many horse as they could, and that the Cavalrie in *Piemont* should enter into *Abruzzo* to joyne with the forces raised by Cardinal *Antonio* in *Rome*. But

neither were any horse imbarked, nor his Majesties orders obeyed by the Cavalry of *Piemont*; hence arose the inconveniences which shall be related.

There were alloted to be embarqued betwixt five and six thousand Soldiers, part of which were Troopers dismounted, with design to remount them in the Kingdome of *Naples*. The Duke of *Guise* commanded as General, but for matters of greatest importance and secresy, they relyed upon the Marquis *de Plessis Belliere*, who exercised the charge of first Lieutenant General, to whom was joyned the Sieur *de Folleville*.

The Marquis *de Vallevoir* and the Sieurs *Cervison* and *del Odi* went in quality of Marischals *de Camp*. The Fleet was commanded by the Chevalier *Pol*,

and

and under him by the Chevalier *de la Ferriere*.

It consisted of 25 men of war six Gallies, and some *Tartans*, on which, were it for their small number, or that the Captaines chose rather to sell their horses, and get others againe in the Kingdome of *Naples*, there were imbarked only those belonging to the chief Officers. The Fleet set sayle from *Toulon* the first of *October* 1654, and on the 8th. was upon the coast of *Sardegna*, the windes were so high and contrary, that the Galleys and Tartans were forced to shelter themselves under the Island of St. *Peters*.

The Men of War continued on the Coast of *Sardegna* till the 25th. tost with continual storms. with hazard of spliting upon the rocks of that Island. Afterward with a favourable scant winde

they were carryed towards *Naples*; But presently turning contrary, and a suddaine Storm arising, the Gallies were forc'd to secure themselves under the Island *Facchignana*, nine miles distant from *Sicily*.

Here the Duke communicated to his Captaines his designe of landing at *Reggio* in *Calabria*, and whilst a favourable wind gave them hopes of arriveing happily. Changing suddenly with great Vehemency the fleet was driven towards *Malta*.

The *French* made account to land here to furnish themselves, with provisions which they had consumed, being retarded in their Voyage. But the Knights of that order would not receive them, and with Cannon shot kept them at a distance. One part of the vessels got again to *Facchignana*, and the other sailed

to

to other places. They bore up afterwards towards the *Faro* of *Messina*, but crossed by contrary windes they were carryed to the entrance of the Gulf of *Naples*, to the great terror of that City: here they had a pleasant calme for 2 days; the Marquis *Prosper Gonzaga* Colonel of Horse, intimated to *Valleroir* that they might go to *Traietto*, a place on the River *Garigliano* in *Abruzo*, where landing, they might with more ease joyne with the troops from *Rome*, and establish themselves in that province. The proposition of *Gonzaga* was discussed in the councel, and approved of by all except *Plessis Belliere*, who opposed and disturned it.

The Vice-roy understanding the enemy was neare at hand prepared himself, (though with much timidity) for a defence He sent presently some companyes of foot and horse to *Baja*

and *Pozzolo* under the command of *Don Diego Queroga* Generall of the Artillery, and reinforced the guardes along the SeaCoast, and dispatched both horse and foot to the places most doubted, fortified the mount of *Posilipe* and ordered that the Gallies, with their Generals, the Marquis of *Bayona* and the Duke *de Turfi*, should go in trace of the Enemies. And ever and anon appearing in person about the Town, gave necessary orders and exhorted every one with courteous and obliging words to a courageous defence.

The Gallyes compelled out, quickly returned againe, as well for the stormy weather that threatned them, as for the shot of the enemy that pierced them. The *French* Fleet making toward *Sorrento* and *Vico*, finally on the 12th of *November* came to an anchor

anchor before *Caſtelamare*. This is a Walled Town with antient Towers, without ramparts, with a Caſtle on a hill, that hath five though weak towers; It lyeth betwixt the Sea and a high Mountaine, and beſides a convenient Haven, there is two little Suburbs; at the head of which the *Neapolitans* had fortified themſelves with a ſingle trench, and ſome Baricadoes, *Girolamo Amodei* Lieutenant to the Camp Maſter General, commanded there with 800 foot of the Battalion, of the diviſion of *Calabria*, and two companyes of horſe of the *Sachetta*.

There was great ſtore of ammunition and Victuals, it being a poſt from whence they might conveniently tranſport it to other places as need required.

The Duke of *Guiſe* calling all the chief officers aboard the

Admiral propoſed to them whether they ſhould land here, or continue their Voyage towards *Reggio*.

De Pleſſis Belliere was of opinion that they ſhould ſail towards *Calabria*; for with their Intelligence from thence poſſeſſing themſelves of *Reggio*, and fortifying themſelves there, it would be no hard matter to fetch in from the Neighbouring Villages Proviſions for the Army; and thence advancing into the Countrey, make the Province declare for the *French*; which ſucceeding, others would follow their example. And afterwards by ſhipping men from *Provence*, they might manage the war in good earneſt, and with thoſe advantages which were to be hoped for from their own forces, rather then from thoſe who are as wavering in their

their determinations, as desirous of Novelties. He said he did not think it proper to engage themselves at *Castelamare* so near to *Naples*, all the forces of the Kingdom being gathered there round about, because they should not be able to resist them with so small a number, and no Horse to flank the foot, and what was worst of all without provisions, and no means to get any from the Neighbouring Villages, all filled with the Enemies forces; that it would be better to go into *Calabria*, where they they might subsist with more convenience, as well for the Correspondence they had there, as because that Province being far from the chief City, there was no likelihood that the *Spaniards* could send thither sufficient succours, for fear that drawing their forces too farre

from *Naples* the discontented people might raise some new disturbances in the Town and places adjacent, where there wanted not seditious people, and especially in *Abruzzo*, so that the *Spaniards*, not daring to stir from *Naples*, the *French* might securely settle themselves in *Calabria*, and reap the fruits of their Projects. This opinion was approved of by the Marques *de Vallevoir*, and the rest, who were at the Consultation, and not contradicted by the Duke of *Guise* himself; but by reason of their long Voyage, and the number of people on board, their Provisions were almost spent, so that they computed that they had not sufficient to serve them to *Reggio*, without a very prosperous winde, which they could not promise themselves in that season, wherefore it was con-

concluded very difficult to perſiſt in that voyage. On the contrary, *Gennaro Cirillo* a famous Ring-leader of the people, and well verſed in the Countrey, inſiſted, that the Enterprize of *Caſtelamare* was feaſible, where was great ſtore of Proviſions, which would not only ſuffice to maintain the Army that landed, but alſo furniſh the Fleet for their voyage to *Reggio*, whereupon it was reſolved on to attempt it.

They were the more perſwaded hereunto, in hopes that by gaining a Poſt ſo near *Naples*, the people would be encouraged to declare for them, ſo that they might perhaps accompliſh that in a few moments, which otherwiſe would ask whole years to compaſs. The Sea-Captains were very well pleaſ'd with

with this deſign, hopeing to get ſome booty, at leaſt good quantity of proviſions.

The Duke of *Guiſe* did not diſapprove of it, being confident of the diverſion in *Abruzzo*, he believed he ſhould find the ſame propenſity in the *Neapolitans* that he had experimented heretofore, the rather by reaſon of the harſh uſage of the Count *d' Ognate*.

For theſe and other reaſons therefore the enterprize was reſolved upon. The Duke commanded the diſimbarking of the Soldiers which was begun, about three a clock in the afternoon. *Pleſſis Belliere* landed out ſhallops with ſome Musquetiers, and notwithſtanding the Sally of the *Neapolitans*, he repelled them and took his poſt.

Vallevoir with the Regiment of *Guiſe* landed on the right hand

hand, and the other commanders with the reſt of the forces plac'd themſelves in the high-way leading to *Naples*, thoſe within fired upon *Vallevoir*; but the *Freneh* advancing with Sword in hand, the defendants being fitter to handle ſpades then Musketts, without diſcharging a ſecond time baſely quitted their trenches in the Suburbs, with two peice of Cannon which the *French* ſeizing on, ſtood them in good ſtead afterwards.

The Fleet began to batter the town to the great terror of the inhabitants, who threw down their armes and cryed for quarter, and at two houres within night, the 13th. of *November* 1654, the Gates were opened to *Vallevoir*, who remained Maſter of the place with the loſs only of two Soldiers, and five or ſix wounded. The next morning the

the Duke treated the people with his wonted Civility, gave out ſtrict Orders to repreſs the inſolence of the ſouldiers, cauſed the Armes to be reſtored to the *Militia*, and the Officers, and diſmiſſed them free to their houſes, ſhewing himſelf rather their Protector than their Enemie.

The News of this, coming to *Naples*, the Vice-King ſent away preſently four troops of Horſe, 150 foot; with ſome reformed Officers to defend that place, but they came not ſoon enough; nor could *Don Ferdinando Cariglio* get in with a well-manned Galley. At the ſame time Order was given to *Frangipani*, who commanded in *Salerno*, to march that way.

Don Carlo della Gatta, who was with ſeveral troops at *Sezza*, was enjoyned alſo to haſte thither

ther, 13 Galleys with Men and Ammunition were ſent from *Naples*, but their attempt came to nothing.

The News of the Attack, and the loſs of *Caſtelamare* arrived almoſt at one and the ſame time, which they imagined would have held out five or ſix days at leaſt. The Vice-Roy and all the Magiſtrates were much confounded, and the people alarmed and affrighted. Moſt of the Gentry and Citizens offered their ſervice to the vice-Roy, and many Cavaliers, and thoſe of the long Robe went towards the Tower of the *Annunciata*, where in ſhort time all the ways were thronged, with armed men, who were better at fighting with their tongues then with their hands. There was found in *Caſtelamare* ſtore of Ammunition and wine, which was preſently put aboard the Fleet with deſign that

that when they were ſufficiently furniſhed with proviſions to paſs into *Calabria*.

In the meane while on the 15th in the morning the Scouts having brought word that the *Spaniards* were intrenching themſelves on the bancks of *Sarno*, not far diſtant from the Tower of the Annunciata. *Pleſſis Belliere* went to view the work, and was of opinion that they might eaſily be beaten thence, and that the Mills might be taken which ſerved to grind a great part of the corne for the City of *Naples*, where there was good ſtore of meal. The hopes of which booty alluring him, they landed two pieces of Cannon the Sieur *de la Rabliere* with 50 fire-locks went to ſound the depth of the river, and found it fordable a little above its entrance into the Sea, where

where were two bridges, by one of which only foot could pass.

The two peices being made ready, the Camp Master *Ceſar di L' Oddi* with two hundred foot landed in *Felucca's*, at the mouth of the River on the enemies ſide. Two Veſſels were ordered to put in at the mouth of *Sarno*, that the Soldiers might land under the favour of their Cannon: The Duke of *Guiſe* got on horſe-back with about 60 officers whom he mounted on his own Courſiers; In *Caſtelamare* they found about 30 horſes, whereof ſix were only fit for ſervice, the others good for nothing but to carry burthens. *Vallevoir* and *Bellefons* were left to guard the Towne. The officers on horſe-back marched in two Squadrons backt by a hundred choice Musketiers

all

all who were to ford the River, ſo ſoon as they heard the Guns from the ſhips. *Folleville* remained with the greateſt part of the foot, and the Cannon a quarter of a mile above, with order to attack the bigger Bridge guarded by the *Neapolitans*, and having gained it to cauſe it immediately to be repaired.

They began to march two houres after midnight the Shallops came to the Mouth of the River; but in ſtead of landing on the enemies ſide, they landed on the other; the two ſhips never appeared which cauſed great diſorder.

Pleſſis Belliere went in perſon to make the Shallops paſs to the other ſide, which he could not effect till the next morning; and

and then the Marriners were forced to help the ſouldiers up the banks by main ſtrength, which were guarded by the Cavalry of *Don Alfonſo de Cabrera*, and the Baron *della Vigne* with a hundred and fifty foot of the *Terzo* of *Don Alfonſo della Puerta*.

Folleville, though he heard no ſhooting from his own ſide, went notwithſtanding to attack the bridge, according as he was ordered, playing upon it three houres with two Pieces of cannon, but was repulſed with the loſs of ſome ſouldiers, and returned towards *Caſtelamare*, to give notice to the Duke, who was not very well ſatisfied, biding him follow him.

The *Spaniards* ſeeing that ſide cleared, paſſed to the other to help

help their companions who were at hand-ſtroakes with the *French*, And made their horſe advance to defend the paſs, forcing *Bellivere* to lay an other bridge, which he commited to the care of the Chevalier *de Fourbein*. Who with *Ceſar de L' Oddi* cauſed one to be made with certaine peices of Timber, which they found about thoſe houſes. *Fourbein* diſcovering a Boat on the other banck, he cauſed preſently ſome Marriners to ſwim over and fetch it, in which he paſſed over ſome firelocks.

La Ribliare and *Cerillo* conſidering that they might enter into *Felucas*, and lead their horſes over in their hands, with ſome of their Comrades and 12 firelocks (with great bravery) they paſſed to the other ſide; The Guardes were daunted, and with-

without defending themſelves retired apace towards the Annunciata, leaving the Bridge free to the *French*. The Baron *de Roquefort* remained with the Boates, The companions of *Belliera* with other Musquetiers began to skirmiſh with the *Neapolitans* athwart certain Leges.

Pleſſis Belliere preſently gave notice to the Duke of what had paſſed, who with all ſpeed forded over the River, and though he had with him only fifty horſe, he divided them into two bodyes, himſelf in the head of one, and *Belliere* of the other, who reſolutely charged the enemy being flancked by ſome Musquetiers, and divers diſmounted Troopers led on by *Ceſar de Loddi*; But *Follevile* not having paſſed the Bridge as he ought to have done, was the

the cauſe of the ruine of all.

The Count *de Celano* of the Houſe of *Piccolomini*, as Lord of that Territory, had the conducting of the ſouldiers which were there got together, who having diſcovered the purpoſe of the *French*, gave order to *Don Alfonſo della Puerta* Serjeant Major to leave a ſtrong Guard at *Scafati*, and with as many as he could to come to him. He diſpatched Captain *Francis de Lorenzo* with his company belonging to the Battalion, and ſome Horſe to the great Inn between the Annunciata and *Caſtellamare*, to keep the *French* in play till more forces arrived, which were upon their march from all parts, and till the *Neapolitan* Galleys could get into the River-mouth to play upon the Enemy in the flank. The *French* for want of Horſe thought it not ex-

expedient to advance further, but resolved only to execute their first design, which was to get possession of the Mills of *Scafati*, and carry away the meal and corn. The Duke and *de Plessis* advanced thither, and found them deserted by the *Spaniards*.

Cesar de l' Oddi was left to defend the Mills with three hundred foot, and dismounted Troopers, of which there were some Regiments in the Fleet, with intention to have been horsed in the Kingdom of *Naples*

The Duke alighted to take a view of the corn and floure, but whilst they were considering how to transport it to the ships, *Don Alfonso della Puerta*, as he was retreating towards the *Annunciata*, by order of the Count *de Celano* happened to pass within Cannon-shot of the *French*, and doubting to be attaqued at a certain passe, he

he resolved to draw up and face the enemy, with a purpose to make them believe, that their whole body was there, that so they might not remove from their Posts. One of the *Gens d' Armes* of the Duke *de Guise*, discovering the enemy, gave notice to the Marquess *Gonzaga*, and *Cesar de l' Oddi*. The Marquess getting on horseback, went to view them, and advised the Duke: the other began to put his men in order. The Duke commanded *Gonzaga* to give notice to *Plessis Belliere*, who was not yet come up; he found him not far off with about 150 men, and joyning with him, they marched on together.

In this while *de Locax* Cornet of the Company of *Crovats*, advancing forward; *Plessis Belliere*, with the Marquesses *Gonzaga* and *Striggi*, *Canaples*, the

the Baron *de Roquefort* and other officers encountred him. The Cornet and ſome others were ſlaine, and divers wounded; the Prince of *Caſtellanetta* advancing with a company of men at armes to ſecond the Cornet, there began a hot diſpute.

Belliere was wounded in the hand by *Caſtellanetta*, who being baſely left by his own men, *Gonzaga* clapt in betwixt them, took him priſoner, and ſent him to the Duke. In the mean-while *Don Alfonſo* arrived with a great body of horſe and foot from the Annunciata.

Pleſſis Belliere endeavoured to poſſeſs himſelf of a paſs, and ordered his men to file off. The French being in apprehenſion of the great number of the enemy began to retreat in confuſion; Notwithſtanding the diligence of *de Pleſſis* to ſtop them,

and keep them in order, *Cesar de l' Oddi* would have got them into the Mills with some foot, but was not able to do it in time, the *Spaniards* were so close at his heels, he was wounded in the shoulder by a musquet-shot and taken Prisoner.

In this confusion *Plessis Belliere* and *la Ribliera*, marched off together with *Gonzaga*, whose horse being wounded under him he fell to the ground, and was made Prisoner, *Plessis Belliere* pursued by the enemy, and wounded in the head with a sable by a Croat he fell. *La Ribliere* alighted to help him, and remounted him upon his his own horse : himself remaining on foot was taken Prisoner.

Plessis being carryed aboard, dyed within seven dayes, to the great grief of all the Souldiers, who

who knew him to be a person of great valour and excellent conduct. Upon the point of this defeat, the Duke of *Guise* arrived, & seeing it impossible without horse to save the rest of the foot, galled by the continual shot from the Gallies, and fearing to be surrounded by the *Neapolitans* and *Spaniards*, who from every side came in to help their fellowes He undauntedly made his retreat, defending the foot, with those few horse he had till they were in safety.

Haveing afterwards notice that *Don Carlo de la Gatta* was arrived with his Troops from the *Terra de Lavoro*, and that the *Neapolitan* Gentry were approaching. He resolved by the counsel of the other officers to abandon *Castelamare*, & return into *Provence* having lost 200 Soldiers & the above nam'd officers

This was the end of that enterprize which, what with the contrariety of windes, want of horſe, remiſſneſs of the Sea Captaines, and other accidents, could not be effected, though the deſign was laid with great prudence; The Fleet ſtaid twelve dayes, about *Ferro* over againſt *Caſtelamare* by reaſon of contrary windes.

Here they loſt a fire-Ship laden with ſaddles and Match, driven aſhore by the tempeſt: as alſo a *Tartan* with the horſes of the Marquiſſes *de Vallevoir* and *Belleſons*.

Another Ship was alſo caſt away in their return upon the coaſts of *Montdragone*, by a violent ſtorme, where periſhed the Marquiſs *de Striggi* of *Mantua*, with his Regiment of dismounted Troopers to the number of 400, and all the Marriners except

except seven or eight who saved themselves miraculously. Upon the newes of the *French* being landed at *Castelamare*, the Marquis *del Acaia*, the Duke *de Castell Novo*, the Baron *Quintio* and others came out of *Rome* with 200 well appointed men, and were accompanied three miles out of Town by the Cardinals *de Este* and *Antonio Barberine* to the way leading to *Farfa*, where they were to joyne with others who in all might amount about 600, to march towards *Abruzzo*: The two thousand horse which should have come from *Piemont* never appeared, whether through the vigilance of the Marquis *de Caracena* Governour of *Milan*, making great trenches, and keeping strict guardes to hinder their passage, or for other respects.

Of those Soldiers raised in

Rome

Rome, and in the Eccleſiaſtical State: the Marqueſs *de Acaia* an old Souldier, was declared chief Commander, who in regard of his quality obtained a Patent from the King, for Lieutenant General of his Majeſties Armes in the Kingdom of *Naples*. And as none had more animated the Duke of *Guiſe* to that Enterprize then himſelf, ſo the whole Direction of it was committed to him, and Money delivered him for the Invaſion of *Abruzzo*; next to *Acaia* in command was *Alfonſo Caraffa* Duke of *Caſtelnovo* with the title of Mareſchal *de Camp*, and after him the Baron *Quintio* and *Monaldeſchi*, each to command a Terzo of foot. But whilſt they were making this Preparation for *Abruzzo*, all was quaſhed by the ſad News of the ill ſucceſs at *Caſtelamare*, and

and of the departure of the Fleet

At the ſame time were heard Complaints from the Pope, and by his Order from the Holy Colledge againſt the ſaid Levies, not permitting any longer that thoſe ſhould be kept together in bodies ſo publickly, eſpecially the *Spaniards*, vapouring to march into the Eccleſiaſtical State, and into *Rome* it ſelf to fight their Enemies.

The firſt News took away all hopes of entring into *Abruzzo*, becauſe it could not be done without the help of the *French* Fleet, to alarm the *Spaniards*, and make them attend their Motion.

The ſecond made the Cardinals of the *French* faction reſolve not to diſpleaſe the Pope in a ſeaſon, when by reaſon of the Duke of *Guiſe's* retreat, that party was much cried down in reputation in *Rome*, wherefore all

those souldiers were ordered to be disbanded.

The Marquess *dell Acaia* retired to *Modena*; *Quintio* absconded in a friends house in *Rome*. The Duke of *Castelnova* returning for *France*, passing thorough *Tuscany*, was looked on as a Spy, and at the *Spaniards* request detained prisoner. But the Marquess *de Lione*, the *French* Embassador at *Rome* writ an efficacious Letter to the great Duke, declaring that *Castelnovo* was an Officer of the Kings, and giving his Highness to understand the bad consequence of breaking the Neutrality, whereupon he was set at liberty. *Monaldeschi* lay privately in *Rome* for some days in *Este*'s palace, afterwards he began to appear about the City, accompanied with a good number of friends, knowing he

was

was not much in favour of the *Spaniſh* Miniſters; For the Duke of *Terranova* Embaſſador of *Spain*, ſpoke to the Pope with much reſentment, declaring more then once that they dread-ed none in *Abruzzo*, but *Don Proſpero Colonna*, Prince of *Gal-licano* and *Monaldeſchi*.

But yet he could not much complain of the Prince, be-auſe he behaved himſelf in ach manner, that it was never ertainly known whether or no e treated in private with Car-inal *Antonio* about the *French* tereſt; or lived retired from heſe Practices to confute his Wiſhers, who had repreſent-him to the Court of *Spain*, as perſon not to be truſted.

Various was the talk con-ning him, and thoſe who went atheſt, ſaid, that he was

a lover of novelties, and that by his discourse his inclinations were manifest though he had not actually done any thing.

This Prince being called to *Naples* before the revolutions, at his arrival was clapt up in *Castel St. Elmo*, and all his estate in *Abruzzo* sequestred. The tumults being over, the Count *de Ognate* set him free, permiting him to go to *Rome*, and to return to *Naples* with his Lady; he came to *Rome* but under various pretences waved his return.

The Vice-roy after having summoned him several times to appeare; by order from his Majestie; upon paine of death and confiscation, he sequestred him afresh. The cause of his

his imprisonment for as much as was laid to his charge, was because he had fortified the Castle of *Petrella*, where also he had put some Ammunition and other Warlike Necessaries; and for constituting himself Umpire of all the differences in *Abruzzo*, making ostentation with a numerous train, and, as it were, flattering himself to be accounted of as the peculiar Protector and Father of his Countrey, which Proceedings being taken notice of by the *Spaniards*, they began to suspect that the Prince had designes beyond the duty of a subject; Wherefore they thought good to seize his person, and demolish the Fortress.

It was believed, that the Count *de Ognate* (a great Politician)

tician) had set him at liberty upon supposition that the Prince would return whensoever he should be recalled, rather then forfeit his Estate, and bring with him his wife, the Marquis *del Vasto*'s Sister.

In which case, it was thought that both of them would have been restrained, to prosecute against him the old process not yet determined, and also to begin a new one, which was that in time of the rebellion, the Marquis *del Vasto*, through his procurement, had entered into a treaty with Cardinal *Grimaldi* at *Rome*, to the prejudice of the Kings service. But because of this, they had no sufficient proof, it was the design of the Vice-Roy to imprison the Princess, hoping to get out of her (as a woman) the whole Cabal.

In

In the meane time the Popes infirmity dayly increaſed, and the Fit was ſo violent the 26th. of *December* at night, that the Phyſitians diſpaired of his recovery, yet there was none that durſt denounce to him that terrible warning, becauſe there are few that dare ſpeak truth to Princes.

Cardinal *Azzolino* who atended the ſick Pope with indefatigable vigilancy, exclaiming that it was a great impiety to ſuffer a Prince of that condition to die without ſetting his ſoul in better Order; Urged Father *Lolli* a *Theatin*, his Confeſſor, to acquaint him with his danger. The Father did it with very apt and moveing expreſſions. At this newes the Pope with an undiſturbed minde

minde free from all terrene thoughts, shewed himself ready to encounter death with an undaunted and resolute Courage. One only grief afflicted him, which was the leaving his kindred so divided amongst themselves, for whose uniting he had taken so much care.

Wherefore he called for the Prince and Princess *Pamphilj*, with their Children, and receiving them with with great tenderness, he gave them his Benediction, expressing great sorrow for the troubles they had undergon in his Pontificate; and with sweet and Fatherly admonition recommended to them concord so necessary for a contented Life, and so Cordially desired by him.

Then he sent for Father *Oliva* a Jesuite, the famous Preacher, and

(and now for his rare qualities, and great deserts worthy General of the order) to assist him, as he did, with indefatigable care, vigilancy, and Charity till his last gaspe.

The Princess *Justiniana*, and his Sister a Nunne in *Torre di Specchi* went to visit him with intent to tend him, joyntly with *Donna Olimpia* his Sister in Law, but understanding that there was no hopes of life, they yeilded their place to the Cardinals his Creatures, who dayly waited in his Antichamber.

These Ladyes were observed to be very much afflicted, who having been accustomed to be continually venerated in a manner with Idolatrous esteem, saw in a moment their Glory faded, and nothing left but contempt and

clamours

clamours againſt them for their gripings and odious lucre.

The Pope turning to the Cardinals *Chigi* and *Azzolino*, who as the moſt affectionate to him, attended him without intermiſſion, in Preſence of the Princes *Pamfilio* and *Juſtiniano*, ſpake to them theſe preciſe words. *You know, that in the Promotion of* Cardinals, *we foraſmuch as hath been poſſible, aimed at nothing more then the Advancement of Gods* Service, *and his* Churches; *and we made you two, becauſe we thought you fit for this end; you know that when you were Promoted, you profeſſed that you would be grateful to our Houſe; and we anſwered, That we had no other Houſe but* St. Peters, *and that we would have none other; And now we repeat to you the ſame again; and that you minde nothing but the chooſing of a* Succeſſor, *which ſhall*

be

be best for the service of God and of his Church; And after, having paused a while, he added, *And we are thinking who in truth might be most proper*; And here he stopped to name some body, but Father *Oliva* interrupted him, saying, *It shall be he whom the Holy Ghost shall inspire them to choose for the good of* Christendom; and so his Holiness went on no further.

Then turning himself to Prince *Pamfilio*, who was upon his Knees at his Beds feet; he exhorted him to shew all obedience and love to his Mother, a Woman to be valued for her prudence: and he promising him to do so, he enjoyn'd him to go to her in that instant to give her the first proof thereof, as he accordingly did, departing immediately.

He gave order, that the Sacred

cred Colledge of Cardinals ſhould aſſemble in his Lodgings, and when it was believed by every one, that it was for the Election of ſome Cardinal, as thoſe who attended him gave out, reviving the Example of *Paul* the fourth, he ſaid he had called them to excuſe himſelf to them, if in his Pontificate he had given them any cauſe of offence; and if he had not anſwered their expectations when they choſe him Pope, deſiring Pardon of God for all, and of them alſo. After this, he recommended to them with much earneſtneſs the choice of a Pope, good, of exemplary life, and of greater ability then himſelf. Cardinal *de Medici* anſwered in the Name of the Colledge in few but diſcreet words, expreſſing thanks, and Promiſes to apply themſelves with all care in the

the election of a Succeſſor, which ſhould be ſufficient for the ſervice of God, and the need of the Church.

To Cardinal *Sforza* who ſtood by his Bed-ſide, he ſaid, *See Cardinal* Sforza, *the end of the Greatneſs of a Pope.* Cardinal *Albici*, one of his Creatures who bore him a great affection, ſpake with a loud voice, *Holy Father*, Cardinal *Albici*, *your Creature and humble Servant wiſhes you all health*: To which the Pope replied, *Cardinal* Albici *is a Cardinal by his own deſerts.*

Afterwards, by Order of his Holineſs all the Gates of the Palace were ſet open for three days together, permitting every one indifferently to enter at their pleaſure, who ſeeing him in that weakneſs could not refrain from teares, reflecting on the condition of the greateſt

greateſt Princes, who are not exempted from a death many times more miſerable then that of a *Plebeian*.

Prince *Pamfilio* preſently diſpatched away Couriers to the Princes and the Miniſters of the Apoſtolick See, informing them of the deplorable condition of his Uncle, and cauſed it likewiſe to be divulged through *Rome*: whereupon they ordered the Prayers of the fourty houres in divers Churches, for the ſick Pope.

The Embaſſadors and Agents gave notice to their ſeveral Maſters of what paſſed, and every one deſiring to know from time to time his condition, they ſent Letters and Meſſengers to the Pallace every moment to be preciſely informed.

In the Court and City, always fond of Novelties, the Scene (as

is

usual in like occasions) was changed in a moment, and the course altered, according to the variation of the winde.

Joy and Grief, the two Points in which all humane Actions end, were on a sudden wonderfully mingled together.

His Holiness ordered the Allowance for poor Cardinals to be distributed to eight Cardinals his Creatures, who till then had nothing paid them: and willing to minde that Cardinal *Capaccioli* had never enjoyed it, he gave expres Order that it should also be assigned him.

The night after, he had a little fit, but no amendment, wherefore it was resolved on, to place Guards at the *Mont de Pieta*, and remove the Prisoners for great crimes from *Torre de Nona*, to *Castel St. Angelo.*

The *Tuesday* following he gave

gave his benediction to the Princess *Ludovisia*, and the next day at the request of Prince *Pamfilio*, the Prince of *Piombino* was received into favour, and admitted again into all his places.

Thursday night the 7th. of *January* 1655. a little before Morning, with demonstrations of great Piety, and with a quiet and fearless heart he resigned his soul to his Creator.

He left, a rare Example! seven hundred thousand crowns, not liable to the Bolle of *Sixtus*, which served very opportunely for the expences of the Vacant See, which were very great by reason of the long continuance of the Conclave; it served also for the Entry of his Successor.

Thus died *Innocent*, having lived fourscore years and eight moneths; and in his Pontificate ten years, three moneths, and

twenty

wenty three days; Even in the aſt Moments, when the vigour f the ſpirit languiſheth through he pains of the body and gaſp-ngs of death, his ſoule gave okens of immortal life. His yes were cloſed by thoſe ve-hands, into which by the ligh-Will of Heaven, the eys of St. *Peter* were to be de-oſited.

He was tall of ſtature, and of ajeſtick Preſence, of a reſerv-and grave Countenance, ſtur-limbs, and of a ſtrong Complexion: His Diſpoſition ot and eager, of a manly umour and vigorous ſpirit, is Brows furrowed, his Hair Chesnut colour, and Eyes rightly, his Beard thin, with few ſtragling Hairs on his Cheeks.

He

He was of a high understanding, singular Sagacity, incredible Subtilty, excellent Judgement, an acute Discerner of Mens inclinations, intrepid in difficulties, stable in his purposes, but tempered with marvellous maturity.

He was of a spare diet, an enemy to luxury, free from superfluous expences, generous where it was needful, wary in fingering the money of the Apostolical Chamber for his own private occasions, affectionate towards his subjects, for whom he always took care they should have plenty, a great Lover of Justice, and very jealous of the dignity of the Church: in short, a Prince worthy of that high degree: And if he were to be taxed for any thing, it was the too much suspected kindness he had for his Kindred, whose increasing

creasing in private wealth, being envied by many, did somewhat dim the splendour and glory of his most happy Pontificate.

Prince *Pamfilio* in that extremity never left his Uncle to the very last, as well out of his good nature, as because his Holiness had lovingly enjoyned it him, contrary to the custom of other Nephews, who on like occasions so soon as they are given over by the Physicians, use to withdraw themselves. But he with great courage would never depart from him till Cardinal *Antonio* the Chamberlain of the Holy Church came in.

And it was a thing observeable, that after the death of *Innocent*, the Palace and Court of *Monte Cavallo*, being full of people, which in the interim of the Vacancy, are rude enough,

as Prince *Pamfilio* passed through the midst of them, he was reverently saluted with demonstrations of sorrow for the Popes death.

Nicolo Larchy the Chyrurgion opened his Body, in which were found about seven bottles of water, and a Pint in his Head, all weighing fifteen pound: His lungs were attacked, and his Liver none of the soundest; in his Gall were found two substances like stones, of six ounces in weight, nor could they be distinguished whether they were woody or stony.

Cardinal *Antonio Barberino*, with the twelve Prelates of the Chamber, before they removed the Corps off the bed, performed the usual Ceremony of calling him three times. *Monsignor Febei* Master of the Ceremonies

monies broke the Fiſhers Seal, and the Impreſs of the Bolles. Two Prelates were left in the Palace to have care of the Moveables of the Apoſtolical Chamber; and to hinder that the Rooms in the *Quirinale* were not rifled by the people.

The Evening following, about the third houre in the Night, the Body was carried in a Hearſe from *Montecavallo* to St. *Peters*, attended by his ſervants, Maſters of the Ceremonies and other Officers, with the *Swiſs*-Guard, light Horſe, Cuiraſſiers and the Infantry, with five Piece of Artillery.

The Body was no ſooner out of the Quirinal, when there fell a huge ſhower of rain with winde, thunder and lightning, not uſual in that ſeaſon. It was placed in the Pontifi-

cal Chappel of the Vatican, and remained there that night well guarded.

The 8th. of *January* in the morning, the accustomed Congregation of Cardinals was held in the Vestry of St *Peters*, to give out order for the well governing of *Rome*; there were present fifty two Cardinals, Monsignor *Bressa* of *Trivigi* in the State of *Venice*, was Elected Governour of the Conclave, and Monsignor *Rossi* was sent to the houses of the Cardinals, Embassadors and Princes to advertize them, that they were not to have above 25 Soldiers for the Guard of their Pallaces, seeing they had taken two great a liberty. Monsignor *Ariberti* was removed from the Government of *Rome* and Monsignor *Rospiglioſi* put in his Place. Prince *Don Camillo Pamfilio* was chosen

choſen General of Holy-Church, to the good liking of every one. The Houſe of *Orſini* had a minde to ſhew themſelves diſguſted with *Innocents* Pontificate, by oppoſing this election, but it ſignified nothing, and it was a thing to be marvelled at, that of fifty two Cardinals there were but two againſt him. The Prince indeed had made his Levyes in a moment, both for the ſecurity of *Rome* as of the Conclave, and governed ſo well, that when uſually at ſuch times there were wont to happen bloudy Conflicts, now there was none other ſhed, than that of one Common ſouldier, who for ſome offence commited againſt his officers, was made to run the Gantlope; The Cardinals offered him the accuſtomed emoluments, but he refuſed them, making a preſent

ſent thereof to the Apoſtolical Chamber.

Cardinal *Antonio* who as Chamberlain of the Church, had the authority over the Governour of *Rome*, propounded for Captaine of the Senate and People of *Rome*, *Iohn Rinaldo Monaldeſchi*, which was ill reliſhed by the Miniſters of *Spain*, becauſe he was partial to the *French* ſide, and had received into his Levyes almoſt all thoſe *Neapolitans*, which being fled from their countrey had endeavoured to enter again with the *French*, who failing of their deſign, they were reduced to live in *Rome* even how they could. To this was added, that the Officers of the moſt Chriſtian King raiſing men to fill up the Regiment of *Mazarine*, *Monaldeſchi* to whom

whom was commited the looking to the Gates, did help forward thoſe who paſſed out of Town to embarque at *Palo* for *Provence*. Yet he carryed himſelf with circumſpection to preſerve pure the honour of his charge, as he was obliged by his fidelity to the Sacred Colledge, to the future Pope, and the *Roman* Magiſtracy, which although it be ſo much fallen from it's antient Splendor, yet during the *Inter-regnum* of the Papacy, ſeemes to reſume afreſh the reſemblance of it's antient greatneſs.

Monſignor *Conti* was ſent Commiſſarie General of the Army, and orders given for the buying in of Corn, of which at that time there was ſome ſcarcity. Proclamation was made that whoever had no buſineſs at *Rome* ſhould

depart the City in two dayes; and divers persons were laid by the heels for making of Libels, and Pasquils, as was usual in *Rome*, but to small effect, it being always observed by experience, that Detracters are like the *Hydra*, that one Head being cut off more start up in its room; and how is it possible to stop the Mouths of a people naturally inclined to licentiousness of speech, and who on such like occasions cannot hold their tongue.

After this, the Cardinals came to the Mass, sung for the soul of the deceased Pope, which being ended, the Chapiter of *St. Peter* took up the Corps, and carried it in Procession round the Church, followed by the Colledge of Cardinals, and afterwards exposed it in the Chappel of the Blessed Sa-

Sacrament with the feet out at the Grate, to the end the People might kiſs them.

The third day in the evening the Cardinals his Creatures, with Prince *Pamfilo*, went to ſee him buryed, but the Cophins of lead and Cypreſs by the neglect of thoſe that had the care of them being not finiſhed, the Corps was put in a room heretofore called the intereſt Chamber, at preſent ſerving only for the Maſons, Carpenters, and Owners, to lay up their Tools

In the meane-time, in the Congregations wont to be held during the nine days of the Obſequies: The Embaſſadors and Agents of the ſeveral Princes came to give their viſits, as well to condole for the late Pope as to offer their aſſiſtance for the ſervice of the Church in the future election.

On *Monday* the Mass of the Holy Ghost being ended, the Cardinals to the number of sixty two entred into the Conclave, which for want of Workmen could not be shut up till *Wednesday* in the Evening: On *Thursday* Cardinal *Filomarino* entred into the Conclave, being come from *Naples*, and some days after Cardinal *Durazzo* from *Genoua*, and *Harrach* and *Hassia* from *Germany*, so that in all there were sixty six Cardinals.

The Sieur *de Lionne* Marquess *de Berny*, extraordinary Embassador from His Most Christian Majesty to the Princes of *Italy*, entred *Rome* the 23. of *January* in the Night. The Conclave being shut up, he went immediately to the *Rota*, where they receive Messages, and delivered His Complement

to

to the Sacred Colledge in the Kings Name, preſenting a Letter of this Tenour.

Moſt Eminent and moſt Reverend Lords,

THE *Election of the Paſtor of the Univerſal* Church, *being the moſt important and weightieſt Act, that can (with the ſpecial* Concurrence *of the divine Spirit) be done by Men, and the King my Maſter ſo much devoted to this Holy See, knowing his Obligation in this particular; Amongſt other* Commiſſions *which his Majeſty hath given me to this* Court, *the ſpecial charge he laid upon me (as it were foreſeeing the preſent* Conclave) *was to expreſs to your Eminencies his moſt ardent zeal for the regular Election of a new Pope, truly worthy to uphold the Vicegerency on Earth, and therefore His* Majeſty *makes his Proteſtation before*

before Almighty God and all Chriſtendome, *that he hath herein no private Paſſion, nor any temporal Intereſt, but only a moſt ſincere deſire of the welfare of the Holy Church, of which as being the eldeſt Son, he doth earneſtly intreat your Eminencies to conſider your Duties and formidable Oaths by which you are obliged in ſuch Elections, not to have any other aim then the Service and Glory of that Divinity which is to be viſibly repreſented to us in the future Paſtor.*

It is therefore neceſſary, moſt Eminent Lords, that purging your Votes from all worldly Impreſſions, they may concur with a religious conſpiring to enthrone in St. Peters *Chair one whoſe precedent Manners have never been ſuch, that may abate the Veneration due to a Pope, but that always having been moſt ſincere, not through any ambitious*

bitious hypocriſy, but out of a true and experienced goodneſs, may make him deſervedly appropriate the Title of Moſt Holy.

One in whoſe known Piety and tried Wiſdom ye may ſecurely reſt upon. That he will not believe it a Dignity of meer Fortune, and a meer temporal Principality, to which the Eccleſiaſtical Dignities are to be ſubſervient, the more to ſatiate his Ambition and Avarice, but ſuch an one as ſhall make appear to the univerſal Edification, that the Office of Chriſts Vicar, which with Humility he hath aſſumed, is a burden able to make the ſtouteſt though the moſt Pious ſoul, to tremble.

One who ſeeing himſelf here on Earth Supreme and abſolute Patron ſhall not yield to his own Genius and private ſpleen, but ever reflecting on his Holy Office, ſhall adminiſter Juſtice with an upright

and

and clear Judgement, and like a tender common Father, as becometh the Successor of that Apostle, to whom the Incarnate Word did not consign the Keyes of Heaven, till he had drawn from him a threefold Promise of Love. One who to second his own Passion, will not make semblance of a Pastoral zeal out of season, nor divest himself quite of it when an indispensible obligation requires. But who in Evangelical reality, and Apostolical courage shall imitate his Antecessors, and shall cause to be admired in him that truth and sincerity, becoming a Person, from whom alone in this world the faithful do expect the Oracles of Heaven; and above all that he make use of the help and advice of those, who by the Badge of Christs Blood *are Characterized for Supreme Counsellors, and no less Auxiliary Angels then Electors of the chief Bi-*

shop,

ſhop, and that he therefore promote to that Eminency Perſons deſerving eſteem and honour.

His Majeſty hath eſteemed theſe Advertiſements ſo much the more neceſſary, to be freely and lively repreſented to your Eminencies, by how much we are reduced to an extream Exigent, that the Exemplarity of the Head of the Church, ſhould repair the loſs Chriſtianity hath ſuſtained by the great ſcandals have been given, eſpecially when ſuch threatning and formidable Tempeſts from the North are ready to overwhelm the Apoſtolicall Ship.

The King my Maſter, as deſcended from ſo devout Progenitors, and ſo well deſerving of this Holy See, and borne of a Queen, from whoſe bowells he hath drawn all Chriſtian Vertue, and educated and inſtructed by a moſt Eminent Member of your Sacred Colledge,

ſo

so habituated to Actions most deserving immortal Renown, and so zealous for Religion, will not be sparing of his forces, (which I here offer in His Majesties Name for the security and liberty of this Conclave) nor of his blood, for to uphold and defend the fundamental Rock of our Faith. But it ought to be considered, that Joshua *cannot vanquish the Enemies of God, if* Moses, *in stead of holding up his hands towards Heaven, bows them down to the Earth.*

Wherefore I repeat again to your Eminencies the most earnest Instances of the King my Master; To which are joyned *the sighes of all* Christendom, *That you will apply your selves with all the most exact Observance of your duty, and make such Election as may make us hope, that Gods Wrath against us is appeased, and that we may finde by the Perfections of the new chosen*

Pope,

Pope, That he is given us by Heaven, not for the Chaſtiſement of our ſinnes, but through the Grace of the eternal infinite Goodneſs.

Before the Pope was dead, or the Cardinals entred the Conclave, ſome of *Innocents* Creatures joyned together, and preſerving a grateful Memory towards their deceaſed Benefactor, they unanimouſly determined to do their utmoſt for the exaltation of one (in whom meeting not only deſert, but a grateful memory of good Turnes,) ſhould rather protect then perſecute, (which they did apprehend) the Houſe of *Pamfilio*.

There was none of whom they had a better opinion for the Service of the Church, then Cardinal *Fabio Chigi*, of whom was conceived high reputation for his exemplary life, and intel-

intellectual parts, and the more, becauſe he being well-experienced in foreign Negotiations, would be able notably to promote the welfare of the Church, by cooperating for a Peace between the two Crowns Wherfore they bent their eyes upon him: But as it was hard to unite the diſcords and intereſts of ſeveral parties without obſtructing their purpoſe, ſo it was neceſſary to make uſe of diſſimulation (the true Court-ſeaſoning) to cloak their thoughts and make believe that they had a clean other deſign then what in very deed they aimed at.

There were four Factions in the Conclave, That of the *Barberines* the moſt powerful, The Flying Squadron, The *Spaniſh* and The *French*.

With *Barberine* joyned the Cardinals, *Bernardino Spada*, *Giulio*

Giulio Sacchetti, *Mario Gennetti*, *John Baptiſta Palotta*, *Franceſco Maria Brancaccio*, *Ulderico Carpegna*, *Marcantonio Franciotti*, *Stefano Durazzo*, *Aſcanio Filomarino*, *Marco Antonio Bragadino*, *Vincenzo Maculano*, *Ceſare Facchinetti*, *Carlo Roſſetti*, *Franceſco Angelo Rapaccioli*, *Franciſco Adriano Ceva*, *Angelo Giorio*, *Julio Gabrielli*, and *Vincenzo Coſtaguti*.

The Squadron was compoſed of *John Girolamo Lomellino*, *Luigi Homodei*, *Pietro Ottobono*, *Lorenzo Imperiale*, *Gilberto Boromeo*, *Franceſco Albici*, *Ottavio Aquaviva*, *John Stefano Donghi*, *Paolo Emilio Rondanini*, *Carlo Pio*, *Carlo Gualtieri* e *Decio Azzolino*.

Of the *Spaniſh* Faction were the Princes *Carlo* and *Giovanni Carlo* of *Tuſcany*, the one Protector, the other Comprotector of

of the catholick Crown, *Ernesto Alberto d Harrach*, *Girolamo Colonna*, *Pietro Donato Cesis*, *Francesco Peretti*, *Iohn de Lugo*, *Fabricio Savelli*, *Theodoro Trivultio*, *Francesco Sforza*, *Frederico d' Hassia*, *Nicolo Ludovisio*

The *French* was the least, consisting only of Prince *Rinaldo d Este* Protector of the Crown, *Antonio Barberino*, *Alessandro Bichi*, *Girolamo Grimaldi*, *Virginio Orsino*, *Iohn Francesco Gondi*, who although he was a *French*-man was not reckoned of the number, because being in the Kings disfavour he did not sociate with the rest.

These following stood Neuters, *Luigi Capponi*, *Dominico Cecchino*, *Pietro Luigi Caraffa*, *Francesco Cherubino*, *Camillo Astalli*, *Fabio Chigi*, *Giacomo Corrado*, *Marcello Sancta Croce*, *Bavio Aldobrandini*, *Giovanni Bap-*

apt ista Spada, *Prospero* Caffarelli *Beneditto Odeschaldi*, Christoforo *Vidman*, *Lorrenzo* Raggi, *Francesco Maldichino*, *Carlo Barberino*; yet part of these adhered some to one some to another faction. *Barberine* as he had declared before he entered the Conclave, told them, they ought to call to minde the Testament of Pope *Innocent*, which was to choose a good man proper for the service of God and his Church, laying aside Passion and private Interest.

Whence he imparted to his confidents that he would never give his consent for any other then for *Sacchetti* or *Chigi*. he being of opinion that these two were fit persons for that Supreme dignitie; intimating as much to *Chigi* himself by Father

Father *Hillarion Roncati*; The *Spaniards* were for one of these six nominated by the Court of *Spain*; *Chigi*, *Carpegna*, *Capponi*, *Cesis*, *Altieri*, or *Caffarelli*.

The Cabal of *Innocents* Creatures, which afterwards by the Duke of *Terranova*, the *Spanish* Embassador, was nicknamed the flying Squadron, sided in appearance now with the one, now with the other Party; But really to obtain their ends they walked in hidden paths. expecting a fit time to shew themselves; and as they were unconcerned from any by-respect of interest, and resolved, to operate according to honour and the dictates of their conscience so it may be said, that they were the strongest, for though they exceeded not the number of 12, yet in a Conclave where there

here were ſo many old men, nd ſo many contrary factions, hey enjoyed the advantage of arning the Vote for what arty they pleaſed to ſide ith.

Theſe Squadroniſts being al- o of *Barberines* opinion, that here were none in the Con- lave to be preferred before *Chigi* nd *Sacchetti*, (if they intended to dhere to the minde and admo- ition of *Innocent*, to chooſe an ble and a good man,) they oyned with that faction as the oſt prevalent, and uſed all their ndeavours to augment it, and o keep up *Barberine* in Credit, ho being known to them to be mettled man, and of great un- erſtanding, not to be wrought pon, nor induced to any hing but of his own accord, hat his judgment led him to;

they

they thought there was no other way then to oblige him by gratitude, wherefore they applyed themselves to Court him with all subtilty, with design that he not being able to obtain the promotion of *Sacchetti* for the oppositions he met with. He should concur in *Chigi* as he had already declared from the very beginning of the Conclave.

The *Squadronists* used such Arts and ways to cover their designs, and make believe quite contrary to what they intended that *Chigies* greatest confidents shewed themselves most against him: The Cardinals, Subjects to the Crown of *Spain*, gave such jealousies to the *Spanish* Ministers, that the Duke of *Terra Nova* exclaimed against them, and complained extreamly, who though he always went hand in hand with Cardinal

inal *Acquaviva* and his asso-
iates, to ascertain himself he
ritt a note to him the last of
anuary 1655. in which after
aving thanked the Cardinal,
or the intelligence given him
a note by his Confessor, he
horted him to be constant to
is first resolution, together
ith the rest of his Colleagues,
nd not to give heed to the re-
orts that the Catholick Kings
inde was different to what he
d declared; Since neither the
ice-Roy of *Naples*, nor any o-
er had order from his Ma-
ty to publish any thing to the
ntrary, adding, that he ought
act according to his consci-
ce, laying aside all other pas-
ons, and that he would be a
ithfull witness of whatever
ey should do in conformity to
is Majesties desire, in the pro-
oting of a deserving person.

But finally, the Embaſſador declared, that the Cardinals, ſubjects of the Crown ſhould exclude *Sacchetti*, in whoſe favour they were already engaged with *Barberine*, nothing till then having been expreſſed to the contrary, neither by the Embaſſador, nor any Cardinal of that Faction, nor yet by his Catholick Majeſty; beſides that, *Don Lewis de Haro* had ſpoken of *Sacchetti* with expreſſions of eſteem and commendation. This therfore was the cauſe of all the noiſe and diffidences, which afterward aroſe between the *Spaniſh* Miniſters and the Cardinals of the Squadron, but they ſet light by it, informing Cardinal *Luga* (according to their firſt Agreement with *Terranova*) with their Proceedings, which had no other end but the Kings ſervice.

The

The Embaſſadour therefore being poſſeſſed, that the Squadroniſts were agreed with *Barberine*, (as in outward appearance they ſeemed to be) and ſuſpecting that it was not feined, as he was made believe. But whether real or feigned, this Union might promote *Sacchetti*, who wanted only ſix or ſeven Votes too make the buſineſs ſure. He writ to *Acquaviva* to publiſh the Excluſion of *Sacchetti*.

The Cardinal not willing to incur the Cenſures, and ſtain his Conſcience; and perceiving it to be a trick of thoſe, who having as little kindneſs for *Chigi*, endeavoured to put the Squadron in diffidence with *Barberine*, and to unravel all they had agreed on. He anſwered the Embaſſador, that whereas by the means of his Confeſſor he had

held correſpondency with him, ſo far as the liberty of the Conclave would allow, ſo in thoſe things that infringed it he was bound to forbeare, wherefore he beſought him that for ſatisfaction of his conſcience he might ſend him back his letter.

The Embaſſador grew very angry, and threatned the Cardinal and his Colleagues, with the indignation of his Catholick Majeſty, and hereupon the correſpondence broke off.

The Embaſſador began to reproach the Squadroniſts, and wrote againſt them to Court; from hence proceeded the publiſhing of the Scroles, which had paſſed between *Aquaviva* and the Embaſſador; The contents of *Aquaviva's* were, The revealing to the Embaſſador what was done in the Conclave,

The

The ſuggeſting to him that the Cardinals of the *Florentine* faction ſince they could not (as being chief of the *Spaniſh* party) directly exclude *Chigi*, named by that Crown, they endeavoured with all cunning to hinder his Election. That encouraged by *Sforza* & *Ceſis*, they cauſed to be propounded now *Bragadino*, now *Caraffa*, now *Carpegna*, and others. They gave out that *Lugo* would have none ſpoken of, but whom the King nominated, thereby to oblige thoſe that were zealous of the Liberty of the Conclave, to oppoſe *Chigi*; That they ſaid he was too young for that dignity, to the end, to engage the old ones againſt him that they might not loſe their hopes; That they propounded to write to the Vice-Roy of *Naples*, and the Governour of

Milan, to cauſe the relations of *Acquaviva* and *Boromeo* to be impriſoned. That they made many Cabals to raiſe jealouſies between *Barberine* and the *Squadroniſts*, to break off all correſpondence betwixt them, ſowing differences, and diſordering all Proceedings, inſomuch that the Squadroniſts were not able to compaſs the End, for which for the Service of God, of Holy Church, and his Catholike Majeſty they had ſo earneſtly beſtirred themſelves.

In the Embaſſadors Papers was diſcovered his deſire to be informed day by day of all that paſſed. His preſſing them to continue firm in the purpoſe to exalt *Chigi*, Exhortations to diſſemble the diſguſts which they received from the Proceedings of the *Spaniſh* Faction and others: Aſſurances of the

Kings

Kings Gratitude, Exhibition to ſerve them, diſapproving what the others of the Faction did in oppoſition, declaring the diſlike his Catholike Majeſtie conceived in the propounding *Bragadino*, *Caraffa*, and others by the *Spaniſh* Faction. Political Inſtructions how to carry on their deſignes. Complaints of Reports touching his ſincerity. Motives of Jealouſies, Wiſhes to proceed unanimouſly together, & not diſguſt thoſe who had his Catholick Majeſties Vote, Diſcourſes on the ſtate of Affairs, Various opinions, and finally, Orders for the excluſion of *Sacchetti*, with divers other Reflections and Diſcourſes about the Intereſt of the Conclave.

The Squadron could not make *Chigi* Pope, without the Concurrence of the *Barberines* Faction, conſiſting of

Urbans Creatures, and the *French*; Wherefore it was expedient to carry themſelves even, and to humour *Barberine*. He on the other ſide could not exalt *Sacchetti* without the help of the Squadron, therefore he joyned with them, though at laſt they deceived him.

Bragadine, *Caraffa*, *Carpegna* and others were propoſed, but for ſeveral reaſons they did not hit. The *Spaniards* by meanes of Cardinal *Sforza* and *Cecchino* ſought to gaine *Barberine* by ſundry proffers of benefit and honour, and particularly to reſtore to him all his Eccleſiaſtical revenues in their Kingdomes, which had been detained from him, and for which at that very time he was ſolliciting at the Catholike Court. But he, inſtead of hearkening to theſe advantageous Propoſitions, ſlighted them

them, giving order to his Agents in *Madrid* to move no more about them.

The Squadroniſts were aware, that *Barberin* could not compaſs *Bacchetti*, becauſe all of his party did not deale clearely. And they knew it likewiſe impoſſible for them to exalt *Chigi* without his help, and the aſſiſtance of the old ones; averſe to the promotion of a young man, (as *Chigi* might well be called) not having paſt his 55th. yeare. It was therefore needfull ſo to carry themſelves, that *Barberine* might have time to juſtify himſelf to his Creatures, that he might bring them afterwards about for *Chigi*; And to invent devices how to gain the old men.

Barberine by his Negotiations

and Practices, finding it impossible to exalt *Sacchetti*, by reason of the great opposition of the *Spaniards* and *Florentines*, he made account to be able, and also that he ought to set up *Chigi*; but because he was excluded by the *French*, and without their Voices, who consequently drew others after them, he could not atchieve his purpose; Cardinal *Sacchetti*, moved rather by his own good Nature, then by Policy, knowing the desert of *Chigi*, yielded him the Field; He writ to Cardinal *Mazarine*, that reflecting upon his Obligation and Vow, which he renewed twice a day to God Almighty, that he might concur to the Election of such a person which he should judge fit to be Gods Vicar upon earth, he had fixed his eyes upon Cardinal *Chigi*, of whose holy life and upright Actions

tions he had had experience ever ſince he was Vice-Legat in *Ferrara* many years ago. And although it did not belong to him, who was the leaſt conſiderable of the ſixty ſix in the Conclave, to impart his opinion to any, yet ſeeing the election drawn on in length, and compaſſionating the damages that were likely to follow, he did reſolve to ſpeak to ſome Cardinals, who importuned the ſatisfaction of *France*. But becauſe the Anſwers ſeemed both cold and equivocal. It came into his imagination, that his Eminence having ſeveral times given ſome ſignes of diſpleaſure againſt that Perſon, might perhaps not have that affectionate inclination towards him, which otherwiſe he might challenge by his Generoſity. VVherefore he took the bold-

boldneſs to repreſent to him his opinion, beſeeching him to believe it real and ſincere, and regarding only the Glory of God, the honour of his Church, the benefit of *Chriſtendom*, and the particular advantage of *France*, by the felicity which would redound to that Kingdom by a Peace with *Spain*, and which only could be expected from a diſintereſſed Mediator, and of good eſteem.

He did believe, that the Miniſters of *France* never looked upon Cardinal *Chigi* as one that minded his particular Intereſt; and if at any time they had found him auſtere and rigorous in his opinions; this was rather the fault of the ſender, then of him who was ſent; And that he, as his Eminencies moſt devoted and affectionate Servant, aſſured him he ſhould never incline

cline to any thing but what was juſt and honeſt, nor have any other concern then the welfare and happineſs of the Crowns; appointed by God for the Protection of the Holy See, by their Piety and ſtrength of their forces; That he ſuppoſed his Eminence was ſatisfied with his Anſwers, concerning the ſuſpicion that Cardinal *Chigi* had let ſlip ſome words touching the ſtiffneſs of *France*, delaying the deſired Peace, and that his Prudence might well conſider, that the employed Miniſter incurs no blame, if he ſhews to each party their own failings, when they do not acquieſce in the Reaſons given for the Peace. He could not refrain franckly to tell him, that if *France* ſhould put any ſtop to the advancement of *Chigi*'s Merit, it would confirm people in their opinion, that all

the

the difficulties that obstructed the peace proceeded from the Court and his Eminency, since the person rejected, that all the world knew to be full of integrety suffered repulse, offering to enter into security to him and to all *France* for his justification, and besought him at least to suspend all sinister opinion which he had concieved against him. Because in time his actions flowing from his upright intentions would oblige *France*, and all the world to pay him love and thanks. And this he earnestly begged of him for the Service of God and benifit of Christendome, assureing him on the faith of an honest man, and his true Servant that what he had taken the confidence to represent to him was unknown to the person, and proceeded meerly from an earnest desire

to

to ſatisfy his own concience.

Cardinal *Mazarine* well poſſeſſed with the candor of both the Cardinals *Sachetti* and *Chigi*, anſwered his letter to this ſence.

That he had read it with that application and obſervation with which he did uſe to weigh all things which came from his hands; and as he reverenced his judgment in every thing he would not diſcourſe farther on what was expreſſed in his letter, ſeeking no farther then the Teſtimony of Cardinal *Chigi* to witneſs his devotion to him, the friendſhip which they knit in *Germany* and the mutual confidence with which they converſed together, to the which he profeſſed he had never failed on his part:

That for the reſt he left it

to

to his Eminence to be Judge of the Diſcourſes held by the ſaid Cardinal, whether they were equivocal and capable of Interpretation, or clear and directly againſt the Crown of *France*, whether it were neceſſary or convenient, being he did not rehearſe the Popes words; but ſpoke his own, and not as Mediator at *Munſter*, not to the Plenipotentiaries, but to a private perſon, without any Character of a Miniſter of the Kings, to whom it was probable he opened his minde freely, and as it proceeded from his heart. That he was ſure his Eminence would not condemn the ſuſpicions the King had of him as light and groundleſs, but rather would remain convinced, that if the like Diſcourſes had been held touching the *Standards*, no ſubmiſſion would have been capable

pable to have appeaſed them, This notwithſtanding, having attentively reflected on the Contents of his Eminencies Letter, whoſe Goodneſs would eaſily perſwade him to any thing he deſired, being certain not to erre in conforming himſelf to his ſence, and reflecting himſelf upon the Prudence of Cardinal *Chigi*, which would not allow him to think him liable to ſuch miſtakes; and conſidering the eſteem which he with all reaſon ought to have of that Crown, whoſe Miniſters ever loved and honoured him; he was eaſily induced to aſſure his Majeſty, that his intention was very far from the Interpretations which might be given of his words; and that he ſpeaking as the Popes Miniſter with a perſon whom he knew not, & who had continual acceſs to his Holineſs,

he

he only expreſſed purely the ſenſe of the Pope to prevent the falling under the cenſure of a bad Miniſter by ſhewing contrary affections to thoſe which his Patron with unjuſt obſtinacy retained towards *France*, and therfore he had willingly contributed all that he was able to juſtly him to the King, fullfiling hereby the inclination that he ever had towards his Eminencie, no leſs for his merits then for the love and eſteem he bore him, and ſtraight friendſhip which paſſed between them.

That by the orders his Majeſty ſent to the Sieur *di Lionne* he might perceive what effect the recommendations of his Eminency and his friends had begot, with whom he made no ſcruple to engage himſelf, knowing

knowing he ran no hazard with so good security, as that of his Eminency; That therefore he referred him to what the Sieur *di Lionne* should declare to him, and for himself, there remained only to send up his prayers to God, which he did from his heart, that Cardinl *Chigi* might be his Eminencies Successor, for by that meanes he should enjoy two Pontificates, and should have the satisfaction to render the Church happy for a longer time.

To this purpose writ *Mazarine* for the promotion of *Chigi*, but with repentance afterwards that he had indited so well; and for the error he had commited in helping one to the Papacy, whom a little before he had decried for a greater *Spaniard* then *Senese*.

While

While they were expecting what would be the event of *Sacchetti*'s Complementing *Mazarine*. Cardinal *Rapaccioli* was brought upon the board, though not with the consent of the *Spaniards*, supposing by what was divulged, that *Barberine* would not dissent, he being his Creature. Whereat the Squadron growing jealous, the combination would be dissolved, and *Rapaccioli* deluded. But he refused to engage for it, unless he were proposed by *Barberine*, by whom (though otherwise he was exceedingly beloved) he would not suffer himself to be deceived by plausible Appearances believed not to be sincere; besides, the opposition of Cardinal *Bernardine Spada*, by reason of some disgusts passed betwixt them, who suspecting that these Contests might terminate un-

unawares in some resolution, counterfeiting himself sick, he went out of the Conclave, and for several days made nothing else his business, but to negotiate with the Embassador of *Spain*, and others, for the exclusion of *Rapaccioli*, which was no hard matter to insinuate to those who never assented to his election.

This blow being put by, another little Squadronist skipt into the field, brought in by an Officer, no good friend to *Chigi*; but arriving too late, and not succoured in time, he instantly quitted the Combate, sounding a retreat; so that the flying Squadron advancing without any set, except the old men, some of whom were permitted for their consolation to try their fortune, which they did to no purpose.

In

In this carriere *Barberine* miſs'd narrowly of being choſen Pope, for without making any party he had aboue 30 Votes, from whence it may be argued that if he had applyed himſelf he might eaſily have gotten a ſufficient number under pretence of giveing them *ad Honorem*; and a Cardinal of the Squadron of a gratefull minde and very dexterous was inclined to do it, and had done it, if he had not engag'd his faith to *Chigi*. The party that oppoſed *Chigi*, ſeeing the victory depend upon the Squadron ſought (as report went) to gaine with large proffers of gratitude the Squadroniſts, and by that meanes interrupt the deſign eaſily to be turned aſide by any the leaſt obſtacle; but theſe being perſons of uncorrupt integrity the attempt

the attempt prov'd fruitless.

Finally after eighty dayes spent in the Conclave in perpetual disputes by reason of the diversities of interests. All the Cardinals with an unanimous consent concurred in the election of *Chigi*; The old ones not demurring at his unripe yeares; which might cut off all those hopes that they are wont to be inveigled with. Though in Popes, not age but merit and Virtue ought to be considered. *Barberine* regarded not the mutterings of his creatuers, who thought themselves undervalu'd seeing him pitch upon a Favourite of *Innocent's*.

It is observable that during the Conclave, Prince *Adolfo* brother to *Charles Gustavo* King of *Sweadland* being in *Rome* and

and intentively observing the Proceedings of the Court, was induced to believe, that the Election was carried on by unlawful Conventions, without any regard to the merit of the subjects, and took occasion to say both at *Rome*, and afterwards at *Venice*, that he should then believe the Election of Popes to be a Work of the Holy Ghost, when he saw *Chigi* preferred to the Chair; And the Choice being such, many would take him for the lawful Head of the Church. So true it is, that an unshaken purity of life, and a sober demeanour in transacting, is able to gain the hearts and affections of very enemies.

The reason why the *Spaniards* excluded *Sacchetti*, was, because he shewed himself too much a friend to *Mazarine*, and the aversi n

ſion *France* had for *Chigi* was derived from no other cauſe then that he being Nuncio at the Treaty of *Munſter*, had whiſpered to ſome body that *Mazarine* was againſt the Peace:

Objections of ſo weake conſideration, that they might eaſily have been paſſed by. Experience teaching how much mens affections, Paſſions, Intereſt and Genius are changed by altering their condition, for when they are arrived at their deſired Port, they quickly forget what windes favoured or retarded their Voyage.

The graveſt were of opinion, that Cardinal *Chigi* was truely exalted by divine inſpiration, becauſe he was elected when he had leaſt of humane aſſiſtance.

The not believing that *Chigi* could be Pope made him Pope, and the confidence that *Barbe-*

sine could exalt *Sacchetti*, who had 36 Voices, loſt him the Chair.

If the Exaltation of *Chigi* had been thought feaſible, which by reaſon of ſo ſtrong oppoſition was held impoſſible, there would not have wanted ſtratagems to have hindered it.

But the Heavens having deſtin'd *Chigi*, cauſed one contrary to unite with the other, and all diſcording parties to concur in him, a new Cardinal, not yet, as one may ſay, known; a young man, no Pretender, powerfully oppoſed, weak in friends; and above all oppoſed by the old men, who loſt in him their own hopes; whence we may conclude, that this was a meer Work of God

not,

not of Men, by the absolute wise Ordination of the Holy Ghost.

In this manner on the seventh of *April* 1655. with all the Votes of the Sacred Colledge, was created Pope Cardinal *Fabio Chigi* of *Siena*, of the Ancient and Noble Family of the Counts *dell Ardenghesca*; a Man who even from his infancie having given proofs of admirable towardlines, and daily encreased his esteem by his excellent succes in his Employments, which he exercised in the Service of the Apostolical See, as Vice-Legate of *Ferrara*, Inquisitor of *Malta*, and above all as Nuncio at *Colen*, which drew after it the most important Management of the universal Peace. There he was admired for an Idea or a true Prelate,

and a most upright Minister, and for such was esteemed even by the very Protestants themselves.

Thence he was called by the Pope to discharge the office of Secretary of State, in place of *Panzirole* deceased, and in this triall, his Holiness finding him fit for greater matters, promoted him to the Scarlet, continuing to make use of him with entire confidence and satisfaction: and in truth *Chigi* shewed in all occasions the clearness of his understanding, the probity of his manners, and the Vigour of his minde, which he never permitted to be contaminated with the least spot of Interest or Ambition; The two snares which usually entrap the wisest and most moderate.

And it is remarkable, that though the Pope laboured with all

all Induſtry that the Cardinal ſhould enter into a ſtrict friendſhip with *Donna Olympia* his Siſter-in-law, who by the whole Court was honoured and obſerved with all obſequiouſneſs, he notwithſtanding though Secretary of State, and in higheſt truſt with his Holineſs demeaned himſelf with ſo great modeſty, that he would not only not familiarize himſelf with her, but alſo as much as was poſſible ſhunned her converſation.

Hence it was, that he living retired in his apartment, and intent only upon his charge, was able to ſteer (not without wonder) amidſt the turbulent Waves of that Court, and not daſh againſt the Rocks of offence or emulation.

Cardinal *Trivultio* as firſt Deacon, publiſhed from the *Terrace* of St. *Peter* the Election which

was

was received by all the Hearers with universal joy; it was observed with marvellous astonishment, how the approbation of all sorts of people joyned with the consent of the Cardinals in exalting him: even of the Protestants who had nothing to say against it, but rather commended with expressions of esteem and veneration, towards a Person so worthy and so considerable.

The Embassadors of Princes hasted presently to the Conclave now open, where reverencing his Holiness by kissing his foot, they manifested by their gladness what would be that of their Masters.

Yet the Constable *Colonna*, who then represented the Emperours Embassador, was not admitted, because the Pope in his first reflection upon publick

lick Perſons, adhering to the ſenſe of his Predeceſſor, eſteemed it incongruous, that a Subject of the Holy Church ſhould appear before him, with the Character of a publick Miniſter of a foreign Prince.

Having received the ſecond Adoration in Pope *Pauls* Chappel, he was according to cuſtom carried into St. *Peters* Church, and there upon the Altar of the Holy Apoſtles adored for the third time; and here it was obſerved, that his Holineſs would not be ſet in the middle of the Altar, as uſually other Popes were, but on the right hand, *in Cornu Evangelii*, leaving to the middle its due reverence.

The people impatient to ſee their new Prince, ran to the

the Vatican, crying up the Election for the best that could be wished; From thence his Holiness was conducted to repose himself in his lodgings in the Apostolical Pallace.

He assumed the Name of *Alexander* the seventh, to revive in our Age the immortal and ever Glorious memory of his Country-man and Kinsman, Pope *Alexander* the third, of the most noble Family of *Bandinelli*. What he acted in his Pontificate, shall be related in the second Tome of this History.

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